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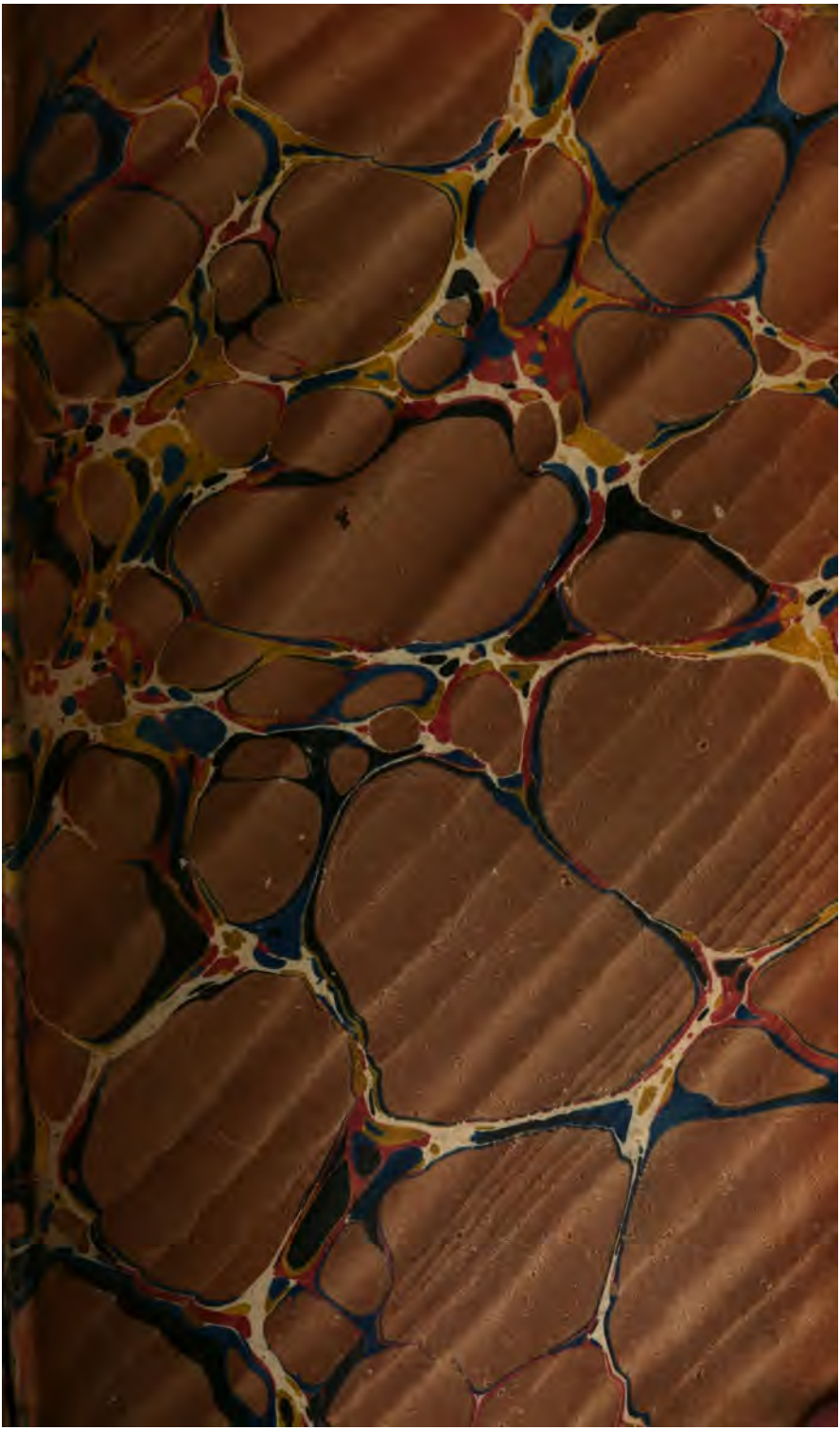

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A

MEMOIRE

ON

SOME QUESTIONS

RESPECTING THE

PROJECTED UNION

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

By THEOBALD M'KENNA, Esq.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

Sed mea me fata et triſtia oracula Divum
His merſere malis.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR JOHN RICE, 111, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

SS1571

Stephen Spaulding Mem. Coll.
Quartet
3-26-40

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MEMOIRE, &c.

DUBLIN, DECEMBER 5, 1798.

OUR diſſenſions and our calamities have called forth the project of a new, and, it is hoped, a final arrangement in the politics of this iſland. It is propoſed to augment the energy of the empire, by ſimplifying its Conſtitution, and to tranquiliſe Ireland by removing a great domeſtic cauſe of irritation.

An Union, conſidered in the abſtract, does not ſtrike me with that aſſemblage of horrors, which ſome perſons appear to feel. The conditions of the contract muſt render the meaſure ſalutary or pernicious. It ſeems a queſtion merely of terms, for I cannot admit the exiſtence of a ſeparate legiſlature to be ſo eſſential to Ireland, and ſo much an integral part of the public welfare, as to render a treaty, for conſolidating the Parliaments of Great Britain and Ireland, at all events inadmiſſible.

I have no grounds to form a conjecture that the liberties of the Iriſh people may not be as ſecure under the ſuperintendence of an imperial, as of a domeſtic legiſlature. Few men have ever been inveſted with power who did not feel a diſpoſition to exceed the limits regularly preſcribed. As a corrective of this evil tendency, we have recourſe to the eſtabliſhment of our parliamentary tribunals, appointed in a good meaſure by the people, but acting wholly under the controul of public opinion. All the powers of the nation are a fiduciary depoſit in the hands of theſe councils, and of their coeſtate the crown, to be exerciſed for the nation's advantage. Such is the legiſlative function; it is equally their duty to reviſe the conduct of thoſe perſons who adminiſter the executive authority, and to ſuperintend the diſtribution of juſtice.—Here is the principle, but to what extent ſhall it be applied? a ſingle inſtitution of controul may be productive of eſſential ſervice, and yet two, as well as twenty, may be exceſſive, inconvenient and dangerous. By the liberties of the people, I underſtand the confidence which every man ought to feel, that he may ſafely and freely do every act, which is not forbidden by laws enacted for the welfare of the community; and that he cannot be moleſted in his perſon or poſſeſſions, unleſs he offend againſt thoſe eſtabliſhed principles. Foremoſt in the catalogue ſtand the trial by jury,

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the common law and ſtatute right of *habeas corpus*, the adminiſtration of civil and criminal juſtice by regulations of law, poſitive, notorious and invariable. The guarantee of theſe rights is the firſt object of civil ſociety. This is the end; Peers and Repreſentatives are but the means. But again: what reaſon is there to ſuppoſe that the ſupreme tribunals of the Union may not be as open to complaint, and as vigilant in redreſs, as anxious to prevent injuſtice, and to avoid impoſing an hardſhip, as our Iriſh parliament?

To many it would be highly pleaſing to erect an independent Government on every ten ſquare miles of Europe. We might rehearſe the advantages which the inhabitants were to derive from ſuch organization; and ſurely the paſſions ariſing from local attachment would not fail to be highly gratified. But then how many avenues would be thrown open for faction? What diſunions among the people! What feebleneſs, what diſtraction in the public councils! What a feveriſh exiſtence for the ſubjects, where the paſſions and prejudices of individuals are ſo cloſe at hand, as to be felt in every operation of Government! Such ſtates would be incapable of vigorous enterprize or effectual combination for reſiſtance. They muſt fall beneath the firſt powerful adverſary. But

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whilſt caſual circumſtances retarded the inevitable doom, the miſerable people would be the prey of miſchiefs, from which no degree of ability could protect them; teazed by diſſenſions, factions and diſcontents, and fluctuating, diſcordant, inoperative adminiſtrations.

Let me not be conſidered fanciful in the poſition I am about to lay down, that the arguments addreſſed to our national pride may exactly be inverted. The appearance of paradox will vaniſh, when we conſider how much more real importance Ireland will derive, when by the ſhare in the general repreſentation, which ſhe is entitled to obtain, ſhe will be enabled to influence in ſome reſpect the councils of the empire, than at preſent whilſt ſhe receives laws from the more powerful member of the confederacy; and from that quarter muſt ſhe ever receive laws, whilſt ſhe adheres with unreflecting pride to this languid and ambiguous independence.

I have been led ſo far into the inveſtigation of a ſubject collateral to my original undertaking. The range of enquiry which opens from it is immenſe. If it were even ripe for diſcuſſion, I have traced to myſelf a more limited duty. But as to the general queſtion of the Union of our legiſla-

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ture with that of the empire, it ſeems to me to ſtand upon the terms which ſhall be propoſed, and upon national expediency; and the rule of expediency again reſolves into theſe two propoſitions: 1ſt, The circumſtances of Europe and the ſtate of Ireland render it the eſſential intereſt of Ireland to be cloſely combined with Britain; and 2d, an incorporation of all the powers of the two ſtates, executive and legiſlative, is the moſt permanent and eligible form of connection. I do apprehend that, in the actual circumſtances of Europe, every motive, by which man, in a ſtate of nature, is induced to abridge his native rights, and aſſociate for mutual ſecurity with his neighbour, does urge Ireland to cling to the ſiſter iſland, and cultivate the connection with every reaſonable aſſiduity. Suppoſe France ſhould intrigue herſelf into an eſtabliſhment in this country. When ſhe had extinguiſhed the funds on which depend our national ſecurities, and divided the lands among her adventurers and partiſans; when ſhe had haraſſed our commerce by exactions, and our population by military requiſitions, what a bleſſed conſolation would remain in the legiſlative independence of Ireland! But when we do not perceive that any particular advantage is in jeopardy, we are diſpoſed to conſider it, as confirmed beyond all hazard, and that the eſta-

bliſhment

blishment of another object for which we contend, cannot interfere with the former. On political matters you cannot reaſon forward in a direct line; you muſt often ſubtract when you would expect to add, and divide where you have hoped to multiply.

But people talk of the National Debt of Britain; and what then? I contend for it, that though, not legally, we are at this hour effectively pledged to ſupport, with our reſources, the credit of Great Britain. It is our intereſt to do ſo, even to the extent of contributing in aid of the National Debt according to our means, in caſe ſuch contribution could be neceſſary. If the National Debt of Britain were effaced by a Bankruptcy, a very great number of the perſons who conſume our articles of fabric and export, would be reduced to penury, a ſtagnation of trade muſt enſue, and goods be thrown back upon the hands of the manufacturers. Follow this calamity of a failure of demand through all its ramifications; a general depreſſion of induſtry from the ceſſation of encouragement; every conſumption diminiſhed, the produce of land comes to be leſs in requiſition; land and houſe-rents fall; and all the elegant arts decline which thrive in luxurious life, and are ripened by the overflow of opulence. Take the matter in another point of

of view. The credit of Britain gives efficacy to her reſources; it covers the ocean with her fleets; it is the lever by which ſhe moves mankind; one of the pedeſtals of that Coloſſus which beſtrides the world!—What would become of this Iſland, unprotected and unprepared for the event, if the artificial power of Britain were ſubverted? We ſhould certainly neither have ſecurity for what we now poſſeſs, nor receive encouragement to improve it. If France continued omnipotent, we ſhould be her ſlave. If her preſent frantic vigour were exhauſted, to be the ſubject of conteſt on our own ſoil among the European powers, or their factions, would be our mildeſt deſtiny. I have not reſted, becauſe the reader can eaſily ſupply the deficiency, on the intermediate pillage of the holders of every ſort of property. Of theſe obligations to ſupport Great Britain, ariſing from private intereſt, the former applies, in ſome degree, to every nation whoſe commerce feels the invigorating influence of Britiſh ſpeculation; the latter is appropriate to Ireland.

But that a neceſſity ſhould ariſe for repairing a breach in the credit of Great Britain, is a mere fiction of the imagination, introduced to demonſtrate, by an example, the degree of ardour which ſhould animate our attachment to the ſiſter nation. I am aware that her former treatment of

Ireland

Ireland was culpable, but the conduct of Ireland to herſelf was yet more ſo. I am no friend to poſthumous reſentments. It is more becoming the dignity of a wiſe people to throw our paſſions into the ſhade, and cultivate our intereſts. What intercourſe can be ſo beneficial to Ireland as with a rich country, ſtretched by it, within a few hours ſail, poſſeſſing the moſt extenſive commercial connexions in the world; a ſure and ſteady mart, and a quick return; miſtreſs of a powerful navy, which is equally engaged to protect our trade and our repoſe, and enjoying the habitual reſpect of the world, in which we participate?

That Britain was vulnerable on the ſide of her public credit and reſources, and that they were marked by deſtiny to direct the blow which ſhould lay proſtrate that immenſe power, was among the deluſions of that credulous and deſervedly-unfortunate party, who, diſguiſing their ambition, very probably to themſelves, under the name of patriotiſm, endeavoured, by an apoſtate connexion with France, to ſeize the Government of Ireland. The finances of Britain cannot fail whilſt they are managed with ability. Though the nominal debt is immenſe, the capital is irredeemable; and the perpetual annuities, which conſtitute in truth the charge, are paid to reſidents in the

country.

country. It is the right hand ſettling accounts with the left; whilſt ſuch is the caſe, the courſe of circulation may be diverſified, but the property of the nation cannot be overwhelmed. The improvement of the ſteam-engine, the various modern diſcoveries in chemiſtry, the application of theſe diſcoveries to manufacture, the abridgment of labour by introducing machines, have performed what is perhaps better than paying off the debt of the American war; they have created funds which are equivalent to the impoſition. Ingenuity and enterprize will in like manner reduce the burden of the preſent loans to a feather weight. Perhaps inquiſitive refearch is at this very inſtant employed in exploring or in opening the markets, by the ſupply of which this momentous operation is to be effected. From France herſelf we ſhall draw back, as we have done from America, a part of the expence of the conteſt we maintain againſt her; for ſhe has ſacrificed her manufactures to the War and Revolution. At the return of Peace ſhe will have wants which can be moſt ſatisfactorily provided for by the Engliſh merchants, and ſhe will diſgorge the plunder of the Continent into their counting-houſes.

I muſt not diſſemble that theſe ſentiments originate in great partiality to the ſiſter nation. But

it is a partiality founded on a ſenſe of her virtues; on the importance of the functions ſhe performs towards human nature; on the character and glory of the people, and on the eſſential utility, which I apprehend accrues to this, my more immediate country, from her ſituation as a part of that reſpectable Empire. If I could flatter myſelf with the expectation, that any degree of public attention may be beſtowed upon opinions ſo humbly preſented by the mediocrity of ſtation and ability, I ſhould tender them as evidence of this fact, that the education and habits of an Iriſh Catholic do not indiſpoſe him to the glory of the Britiſh Empire. The contrary has been aſſerted often, and by perſons of no ſmall authority. Some years back, the Dublin Journal, a publication in many inſtances of great improvidence and indecorum, but for a long time a peculiar object of our Government's care and patronage, ſpeaking of the loyalty of that part of the King's ſubjects, uſed theſe remarkable expreſſions:—"it exactly reſembles the loyalty of a "chained tyger to his keeper!!"

How many controverſies have been moved on the reciprocal obligations of Great Britain and Ireland as fraternal ſtates; in any of which, if the Parliament had been ſo conſtituted as to have followed its own minority into the popular notions

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of the day, there was an end to the unity of the Empire. If the two nations incline variouſly on public queſtions, they can only be employed in watching each other. And will any man of ordinary obſervation ſay, that he can count on the temper and forbearance of their reſpective people, to correct theſe diſorders in the conſtitution? No; but Parliament can be induced, as hitherto has been the caſe, to preſerve the harmony of the federal connexion. Why reſort to circuitous means and complex machinery for an effect which may be produced ſimply and directly, and by the ſacrifice of a very ſecondary object? I am ſure the Iriſh Parliament has done well in preſerving, on many queſtions, a coincidence with the Miniſter. It is needleſs to ſcrutinize the motives which actuate men, when their conduct produces beneficial conſequences. Few take the trouble to weigh the widely miſchievous inconvenience of bickerings and broils between the Sovereign and the States, or between the repreſentative bodies of two nations whoſe concerns croſs each other every day, and whoſe views and intereſts muſt be intimately combined, or irreconcileably diſcordant. How invidious the taſk we impoſe upon our Parliament, by majorities, under the ſuſpicion of influence, to thwart the opinions which their own diſcontented minority diſſeminates through the people! It has been tauntingly ſaid, on innume-

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rable occaſions, that our Independent Government takes orders from a power we do not recognize, and carries them to our Independent Parliament, by which they are ratified! That ſuch mock Independence affords no reaſonable occaſion for vanity. I have already touched upon this ſubject. To reject a permanent ſettlement on the ground of vanity, reſembles the ſimplicity of a poor man preferring gaudy tatters to the comforts of induſtry.—I cannot ſee the wiſdom of poſtponing the uſeful, to the ornamental parts of civil liberty.

But how, it may be ſaid, are we to be enriched? Britain has no new commercial advantages to impart. What commercial laws, and conceſſions can atchieve, is already pretty well accompliſhed. What are laws, and opportunities, without a capital? They are but as beautiful machinery to a mill without a water-courſe. The improvement of agriculture, and the increaſe of the linen trade, and more than either, the ſo-much-reprobated repeal of the penalties againſt adhering to the Catholic Religion, have added much to the wealth of Ireland. But more muſt

be

be done to meet the exigencies of our population. Where the linen manufacture has not taken root, the people, at a certain diſtance from the coaſt, are wretched. They cannot recur to any other employment than the mannfacture of land, ſo that the landholder has a double monopoly againſt them: he can command his own price for the ground he lets, and he can fix what value ſuits him on the labour he purchaſes. The general introduction of manufactures muſt open new markets for labour, and raiſe the price of it by a ſteady, and not a violent operation, before we can expect, to ſee the condition of our Poor materially ameliorated.

I did once imagine that the cauſes I have here enumerated, proceeding ſlowly, though regularly, would have been adequate to the remedy of our diſorders. But experience, and the obſervation of what daily paſſes, have convinced me that this ſanguine hope is vain, until a great change of manners ſhall have taken place; and this only is to be effected by a great change of Conſtitution. Conteſts for power in the upper circles would be innocent, if to them they were confined; but

but acting on the tenacity of the Proteſtants, and the expectations of the Catholics, they carry bitterneſs to every fire-ſide in Ireland. You muſt root out theſe feuds if you would baniſh wretchedneſs from the land; you muſt exclude them; not by elevating the pride of theſe, or reducing thoſe to ſullen acquieſcence, but by compleatly removing the cauſe, by placing our concerns under the care of a ſuperior power, impartial by ſituation, and by the abſence of the local paſſions and prejudices that diſtract us. The People of Ireland will then have an undivided intereſt. Foreign Capital may be induced to viſit us; the property of natives will ſtagnate in the country, and be formed into maſſes ſufficient to give employment to our people. It is from hence I expect the augmentation of our trade, the increaſe of export and of home conſumption. When the alarms of people of property are at reſt, and a perfect confidence created in the ſettlement of the country, they will not heſitate to aſſiſt induſtrious or ſpeculating men by advancing money or credit to them. I have in my view the great number of ſmall banks, and liberal diſcount-offices, which are to be met in every part of England and Scotland.

Two other circumſtances diſpoſed me to conſider favourably the project of an Union with Great Britain. Examining, not long ſince, in a courſe of amuſing ſtudy, the treaty of the year 1785, generally called the Commercial Propoſitions, I obſerved it to be a well-intended and beneficial ſyſtem, but defective in ſome reſpects. There was not a juriſdiction ſuperior to both contracting parties, to enforce the rules, and decide upon the breach and the performance of the agreement. In conſequence of this chaſm, all the wiſe purpoſes of the adjuſtment were very likely to be rendered abortive. My other cauſe of conviction was the very great reſemblance, which, previous to the Union, Scotland bore to the actual ſtate of Ireland. Scotland had a popular and a faſhionable religion, actuated againſt each other by a degree of rancour infinitely more inveterate and unmitigated than the ſectarian animoſities of Ireland. The Government was jealous of the people, and the people of the Government. She had too her parliamentary factions, who as well as their co-adjutors at Weſtminſter, aſſiduouſly fomented the diſcontents of a people, without exception the moſt turbulent in the world. I do not count ſo much upon the Weſt-India or Plantation trade to the ſingle port of Glaſgow, when I talk of the means, by which

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the Scotch grew to be rich, orderly and contented. No,—internal quiet was the mine to which they owe their wealth; it was to the eſtabliſhment of private credit and confidence on the baſis of tranquillity; it was to the formation of a Government, which had no feeling of ſubaltern reſentment, of habitual or hereditary prejudice. But here let me mark the error of the Scotch Union, as a leſſon and a warning to the legiſlatures of both countries, to examine narrowly into the circumſtances of Ireland, and leave no grievance unredreſſed, when the adjuſtment is completed. If the people of Scotland had been emancipated by aboliſhing the heritable juriſdictions, the Rebellions of 1715, and 1745, would as to that country have been, moſt probably, prevented.

Muſt the ſettlement of Ireland by domeſtic means be then given up as an hopeleſs enterprize? Such I apprehend to be the fact, although I have not always entertained that ſentiment. And as I do not aſpire to ſeek the favour of any party, more eſpecially that of which upon every principle I diſapprove, I ſhall lay down, preciſely as they occur, the grounds of my opinion.—I begin with the general diffuſion through the country of what are called Orange Lodges, and the temper which

which appears to actuate these societies. They claim the credit of having assembled for the protection of a tottering throne. Let them take the full merit of their loyalty. But the spirit of revenge which, under their auspices, has so often lingered after victory, and the dominion over their fellow subjects, which they seem to claim as their reward, reduce very considerably the value of their services.

These clubs, are instituted to suit protestants of every age, and education and degree. Filiations of them have been formed in most country towns, in the University, in many regiments, and even among school-boys, so that if they are of doubtful portent to the harmony of society, the evil is not like to be of limited extent or short duration. The drawing-room and even the nursery bear their emblems. It is not a benevolent association, calculated to extend or to preserve, or to improve the system of pure religion, by which they consider themselves enlightened. The first object of the confederacy is to maintain, and the next to celebrate the political supremacy of one part of the King's subjects over another.—They commemorate not

> Thy great name, Nassau,
> Who stamp'd the bless'd deed of Liberty and Law—

not the purifier of the monarchy and the founder

 of

of civil freedom, but a ſort of ſpurious William of their own creation, reſembling John Weſley, or any other fanatic founder of a ſect, without a trait of character, by which, if he repaſſed on earth, the ſage and hero would recogniſe himſelf as fairly repreſented.

Far be it from me to ſuppoſe that many very honourable perſons may not have been induced to enrol themſelves under this ſymbol of diſſenſion. We have paſſed through a very trying ſeaſon to men's feelings. There is not any ſituation in which one is ſo likely to be led aſtray, as when he fixes his eyes upon one ſide only of a political object; and that paſſions, terror, and reſentment, ſcreen from his view the conſequences by which his firſt conception might be corrected. But let me tell them, that they are under an error when they hope to manage the monſter whom they nouriſh. Thoſe who are now among the moſt ſubmiſſive of their party will become its leaders, if it ſhall take root; and its exceſſes, the men I here addreſs, will in vain attempt to moderate. Lord George Gordon had never the fire of London in his contemplation. With all their faults, the perſons, who projected this late wanton inſurrection,

tion, had no participation of guilt with the ferocious mobs of Wexford and of Mayo.

Another circumſtance contributes to the deluſion of the Gentlemen I have been deſcribing. They do not feel the importance of the Catholics to this country.—I do not ſpeak of them as an opulent order in the ſtate—rich men "may flouriſh and may fade," but as they ſupply almoſt entirely the labouring and induſtrious claſſes of the community. If I treated of an Indian territory, I would ſay, let the mind of the Gentoo be free from every reſtraint, except the wholeſome horror of iniquity. Public proſperity proceeds from the baſe to the ſummit of the cone. The foundation muſt be large and firm to ſupport a durable ſuperſtructure. The Government, in combination with a part of the people, may, ſo far as phyſical force confers authority, impoſe reſtrictions on the Catholics; but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children. Without debaſing itſelf into a ſtanding jeſt to this reflecting Empire and age, by appearing to puniſh men for their Religion, a ſyſtem of manners may be introduced, which ſhall reduce, to an unoperative theory, all the advantages which the Conſtitution ſuppoſes them to enjoy, and which a wiſe Prince has

has ſtudied to procure for them. Now preciſely to this point does the invidious confederacy, called Orange-men, tend. Let us put by the conſideration, that people of every character and temper may procure admiſſion to the Society, and that the worſt propenſities of bad minds are not like to be reſtrained when there is a proſpect of protection: If this buſineſs continues, it muſt lead to outrages on perſons and property, and there will be no lack of juſtificatory pretences.* I put alſo out of view this fact, which in this age and country bears evidence, unfortunately too ſtrong of authenticity, that political aſſociations, on any extenſive ſcale, are in an extreme degree dangerous to any Government.

The ſpirit of the inſtitution is to inculcate an opinion that its votaries form a ſuperior order in the ſtate, with ſuperior title to every kind of conſideration and privilege. As a leading principle, it aſſerts that certain immunities of our Conſtitution have been improvidently granted to the Catholics,

* What numbers, during the late diſturbances, would not believe the evidence of their ſenſes, that every Papiſt was not a rebel! How many were ſadly chagrined at the propriety with which the perſons of property of the Romiſh communion acted!

tholics, and that ſimilar conceſſions are in future to be reſiſted. Can any ſcheme be deviſed more effectually calculated to excite antipathies and diſguſt among the inhabitants of the ſame country, and render them adverſe to each other, in ſentiment, as pole from pole? And can that divided country proſper? Can it be denominated Independent? Can human happineſs be brought to perfection? What retribution for theſe evils is a titular independence in which a few men have an intereſt? Not a man in Ireland feels more ardently for the liberty of my country; but I call for practical Independence, which ſhall be felt in every ſinew through the land. I am adverſe to the ſyſtem under which

——— a factious band agree
To call it Freedom, if themſelves be free.

I proteſt againſt a ſcheme thus fanciful and oppreſſive.

Let me conclude the detail of evils by calmly laying before theſe Societies, the perverſe temper, the barbariſm, let me call it, which they neceſſarily muſt induce, and neceſſarily perpetuate. Men in eaſy circumſtances may turn aſide for conſolation, from an object that diſguſts them. Among perſons of the higher claſs, the arrogant pretenſions of a rival party may only occaſion an irritation.

tion. But, even ſo, they muſt aſſuredly become more indifferent to the public welfare, and more inactive in the improvement of their country. In humble life men are chained to the oar by their ſituation; there indeed will qualities be found too fit to produce miſchief, and materials too eaſy to be worked on. Little minds are prone enough to aſſume authority where they can, and to practiſe an overbearing inſolence of demeanor. The Proteſtant Mechanic, who has ſtudied manners and politics in an Orange Lodge, and has there been taught his meaſure of forbearance, will be ſpoiled with regard to his own duties, and he will equally ſpoil his neighbour, a man of more feeling than reflection, whom he teazes and bullies, and drives either into ſeditious turbulence, or enervated deſpondency. I am perſuaded a ſtate has no better reſource than in the well-regulated firmneſs of its People.—I borrow this ſentiment, which, on former occaſions, actuated me in ſome feeble efforts to ſerve the country through the Catholics, from Dr. Adam Smith, an excellent judge of the ſprings by which men are moved. He attributes the proſperity of England to the temper of the Yeomanry; and this character he thinks is formed in a good meaſure by their election privileges. It is apparent, that I conſider the

Union

Union rather eligible by the ſyſtem of police to which it leads, than on any other conſideration. Here let me add one word, called for by the conſtruction I put on a pamphlet, publiſhed, it would ſeem by authority, in order to break the ground for this diſcuſſion. Unleſs the Servants of the Crown mean, among other internal regulations, to include a ſettlement under the head of religious difference, completely co-extenſive with the grievance, then will an incorporation of the Legiſlatures be found a meaſure bad for Ireland, but, if poſſible, worſe for Britain.—The penalties againſt Catholics ought to be repealed, if it were only to diſcountenance the Orange faction, by ſhewing the error and impotence of the Aſſociation. The meaſure would be popular and acceptable. I aſſert this fact in contradiction to the State Priſoners, who averred, in their examination before the Committee of Parliament, that emancipation, as it has been called, was ſlighted, except as a pretence. So perhaps it was among the Catholics with whom they mixed, or thoſe on whom they practiſed; the latter, an ignorant peaſantry; the former, a cabal of ill-intentioned Democrats, who dreaded not any thing ſo much, as leſt the King's Government ſhould diſarm the public diſcontent

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by a conceſſion ſo highly grateful. There is, and always has been, a body of Catholics, numerous, reſpectable, and of ſteady loyalty, to whoſe minds there is no nearer object.

I am aware that I brave the cenſure of many reſpectable perſons whoſe ſentiments are caſt in a different mould, and whoſe paſſions are exaſperated by recent reſentment. What! a lenient rule of policy for ungrateful men, whoſe rebellion has produced ſo much public and private calamity! Exactly ſo. If every Catholic in Ireland had been a rebel, it ought to make no difference. There is an immutable rule of right and wrong, politic and inexpedient, by which the merits of the queſtion are to be tried and decided. And again: if even ſuch were the caſe, the moment of victory would be the critical time to make the conceſſion; what might have been in the laſt year injudicious, as liable to be repreſented a puſillanimous compromiſe, might at this day be compliment and heroic ſacrifice. The whole continent of America was in open hoſtility at the time that liberal terms of accommodation were propoſed. Here I am at iſſue with the Orange-men. They propoſe to encreaſe the weight of the criminal law by a corrective

corrective diſcipline, regulated by each private man's ſenſe of propriety. I aſſert that a ſtrong Goyernment ought for ſome time to be maintained, and the laws to be enforced with rigid impartiality. But no other awe, no fetters on the mind, no ſubjection. Am I told that it is not intended thus to debaſe the public mind of Ireland? To be ſure theſe deſigns are not in familiar contemplation; I think better of my ſpecies. But let me tell theſe Societies, that if one man in fifty expects to mend his fortune by dabbling in the ſyſtem of eſpionage, which has ſo long vexed this country, that man is of more efficacy to do ill, than ever ſo many well meaning, inactive men, are to counteract him. And let me tell them, that the tendency of their inſtitution to produce the effect I have deſcribed, according to the habitual tenor of human proceedings, is not more regular than that of a ſphere to drop to the ground by the laws of gravitation.

I am diſcourſing of lenity and mercy. What has the repeal of the diſqualifications againſt Catholics to do with the Rebellion?—In certain counties there was a riſing of the peaſantry; provoked, cajoled, ſeduced by certain gentlemen,

Deiſts, ſome of Catholic, more of Proteſtant education. The inſurgents were Catholics, juſt as any man, who offends the laws againſt property, is, within the ſame limits, a Catholic, becauſe it happens to be the popular religion of thoſe diſtricts. They were combated by Catholic militia regiments; by Catholic noblemen, gentlemen and farmers; that is, by all thoſe who had kept themſelves aloof, not from the religious, but the political illuſion. Indeed I believe the principal perſon in point of dignity of the Catholic party did exert himſelf with more gallantry, than any other of his rank, not profeſſedly a military or militia officer. When the clown had proceeded a little way under his doctors and generals of the rights of man, he bethought himſelf of his early reverential impreſſions; and having out of about two thouſand five hundred Catholic Prieſts, who are in Ireland, collected five and twenty in the different rebellions, mingled together ſuperſtition and rapine, and murder and liberty in a manner, which I want words to ſtigmatiſe, which I am appalled to contemplate; as to ferocity, very ſimilar to all other mobs; and, as to ſuperſtition, moſt like what Mr. Bruce relates of Abyſſinia. Now, which is it better to reclaim thoſe people, or to confirm their diſorderly

diſorderly habits? They have proved themſelves to be in that ſtate of ſociety, where obſervances have more influence upon the mind, than moral principle. A ſtate, which no ſyſtem of religion that was ever known on earth, is calculated to produce among its votaries. It is clearly indicative of ſomething vilified and ſtupid in the mind, not from nature ſurely, but ſuperinduced by extrinſic circumſtances. It is the reſult of a certain courſe of manners, whilſt theſe continue, it will prevail. But whenever by teaching a man to ſet a higher value on himſelf, you give a greater expanſion to his faculties, he will be formed to a more enlightened mind, and will acquire a ſuperior tone of vigorous underſtanding.

Somewhat previous to this inſurrection, the Orange Society was tranſplanted from its original nurſery in the county of Armagh; and, being applied to parts of the country, where even upon its own pretexts of juſtification it was not neceſſary, did favour in no ſmall degree the intrigues of the incendiaries in the French intereſt. The ignorant people ſaw a myſterious aſſociation, of which they were in ſome reſpects the object, but they could not divine to what intent. I know that this circumſtance,

ſtance, and the terrors, which from thence were artfully deduced, did in many inſtances drive the common people to ſeek for arms. The Iriſh peaſantry have been, from various prediſpoſing cauſes, at all times but too prone to riot; and when this firſt ſtep had been gained, it was no hard taſk to lead them forward. Why ſhould Democracy, ſolely a political monſter, be oppoſed by reviving religious prejudices, which never exiſted to any beneficial purpoſes. There were holds of full as much efficacy and more capable of extenſive application. The truth is, that whether from perverſeneſs, or blindneſs, or the horror of all kinds of innovation, or the occaſional appearance of ſome perſons on the ſcene in both dramas, there has been a ſtrange confuſion of a juſt with a baſe purſuit, of men who ſought to improve their condition under the ſtate, and of men who deſired to ſubvert it. I will exactly lay down the difference.

The Gallic Reformer invited you to change for change ſake; the Catholic pointed to an inconvenience in your laws, and he ſhewed you how he would himſelf derive benefit from the alteration. The objects of the former were indefinite, and the conſequences incalculable; but in a ſingle glance you could hold under your

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eye the beginning and end, and all the implications of what was fought by the Catholic.—You tell him, I think the Church Eſtabliſhment is connected with the peace and property of the country. I wiſh to ſecure it, in its actual courſe of ſucceſſion. He replies, that the diſqualification, of which he complains, affords no additional ſecurity to the Church; that its pillars are the connexion with Britain, and the balance of property. That he does not deſire the aggrandizement of his fellow-religioniſts, as a body; but that there ſhould be no obſtacle in the way, of any individual of that communion, to puſh, to the utmoſt extent of which they are capable, the advantages of birth and fortune, talents and induſtry. Theſe are the diſtinctions which grow neceſſarily out of the ſocial inſtitutions; but we in this country add a new diſtinction, Religion; and, as it is unnatural, ſo does it appear to me to be impolitic; and, as it is of very univerſal operation, I do think it diſtorts and vitiates the entire ſyſtem. Without any leaning to the doctrines of the Church eſtabliſhed, there is not in the land a more true friend than the writer of this eſſay, to the principle of ſupporting the dignity and poſſeſſions of its Clergy. My reaſons are ſolely political. I think, in a better ſtate of things than we have witneſſed

witneſſed for ſome time, that reformed epiſcopacy might hold the balance between the other great religious bodies. The popular Religions ought to be provided with every liberty and decent accommodation for worſhip, and with the means of rendering their Paſtors reſpectable. But an opulent eſtabliſhment could not ſuit them. To divide the wealth of the Church, from the wealth of the State, would only give occaſion to new broils, and produce an order of things, in my opinion, unjuſt, but ſurely unnatural. Here is the ſcope and courſe of my attachment. So far as my obſervation extends, the reflecting Catholics of this country never entertained a wiſh to give an eſtabliſhment to their Clergy. Shall we be told that, as they were uneaſy under the civil diſqualifications, ſo if all differences between them and the State were reduced to the eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment, that would furniſh an occaſion of repining. I anſwer, that ſuch is by no means the neceſſary conſequence. The civil diſqualifications are of a nature to croſs a man every day in his intereſt, and in his paſſions. The Religious eſtabliſhment affects the one not at all, and the other very ſlightly. People meet, or think they meet, the affected ſuperiority of a neighbour in daily ſupercilioufneſs of look and geſture, and in all the ordinary offices of intercourſe.—The penalties yet

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in force againſt the Catholics muſt by ſome perſons be unpleaſantly or ſeverely felt; but yet it would, compared with the number whom they affect, be idle to treat of them, at this day, as of a very oppreſſive burden. They are the watchword for a party. They miniſter to a vanity that ought not to exiſt. They feed unjuſtifiable pretenſions. They confuſe the duties of the ſubject, and diſtract him in the performance of them. They tend to ulcerate * the minds of the people.—"My "Clergyman is better endowed than yours," is an aſſertion not calculated to create ſo much controverſy and pique, as this other—"by the law "of the land I am your ſuperior!" It is moreover not the temper in which a demand is made, but the juſtneſs of the propoſal, that ought to influence

* I muſt advert to the temper of a Poem called the Orange; a printed collection of Orange ſongs; and, until very lately, to the tenor of the newſpapers in that intereſt, to ſhew that if the Catholics were willing to be at eaſe, they would not be permitted. I copy this ſtanza from one of them; it appeared ſince the rebellion was ſuppreſſed. Deſcribing the overthrow of the rebels—

> See their Clergy march before them,
> With their ſacred veſtments o'er them;
> Sprinkling them with holy water,
> And calling on to blood and ſlaughter.

It is not every man, who deſpiſes thoſe ridiculous revilings, that will not be rouſed by them.

fluence the judgment of a law-giver. If the people are unreaſonable, be they never ſo clamorous, he ought to riſe in his vigour and repreſs them.

How eaſily might all theſe matters be arranged, if the Catholics would only be ſubmiſſive, and accept the protection which theſe Clubiſts hold out to their loyalty, only now and then ſeaſoned by a little ſharpneſs of obſervation; that is, in more familiar language, "let matters remain as they "are." In the name of all thoſe feelings which are irritated and inflamed at the proſpect of diminiſhing your hopes of Parliamentary importance, are men, conſtituted like yourſelves, to behold every day the travellers paſſing and repaſſing, from humble ſituations to eminent honours in the State, and do you expect they ſhall never long to join you in the journey? *This world was made for Ceſar.* O admirable adepts in the ſcience of the human heart! O benevolent and conſiderate Fellow-Citizens! In what reſpect does the Conſtitution of a Catholic differ from your own, that he ſhould ſhrink in awe before the ſilly emblem of your faction, or tremble at the polluted name of the great William?

Forbearances of that nature are, I conceive, not to be expected; and, leaſt of all, under the circumſtances to which I have ſo often pointed. Rich men will pine after the compliments which generally

generally await on wealth. You cannot contract their means of proſpering, without ruining the reſources of the State; and that, give me leave to prophecy, the ſupreme Government, for its own intereſt, will not conſent to. Aſpiring young men at the Bar will perceive that the paſſage into the Houſe of Commons is not very difficult, and that, in a courſe of Parliamentary exertions, a man may riſe high without very extraordinary endowments. It does not ſtand to reaſon that theſe claims can be at reſt, whilſt the inducement to urge them is ſo very near; and though they may happen to be dormant, that is no evidence that they are forgotten. I do not preſume to deliver the ſentiments of any deſcription of my fellow-ſubjects.—On this very queſtion of an Union there muſt be ten thouſand different opinions among the Catholics, and nothing more unwiſe than to think of reconciling them. The land-owner, the merchant, the profeſſional man, the manufacturer, the inhabitant of Cork and of Dublin, will have ſeparate views, and the peaſant will be indifferent to them all: The builder in Dublin, and the dairy-man contiguous to the port of Waterford, who pay the ſame rent, one for a few feet of ground, and the other for a mountain, will make up their minds upon very contradictory foundation. I anſwer for other perſons, if the compa-

riſon be not arrogant, as Fielding anſwered for mankind, when he drew appoſite characters, and faithfully deſcribed how men would act under certain influences. It is not advancing a claim to importance, but merely to avoid miſapprehenſion, that I declare, I do not write in political connexion with any perſon or party. Entertaining the warmeſt wiſhes and the beſt intentions for the ſervice of the Catholics, I have no diſpoſition to ſoothe, or court, or cultivate them. When they flouriſhed leſs than at this day, my inſignificant labours were freely given to their cauſe, and not, it was ſaid, without ſome utility. I contributed my mite to expoſe their claims, and to draw to them the attention of the Empire, certainly without detracting from their reputation on the ſide of attachment to the Conſtitution, or its duties. I owed to them, in return, the enjoyment for ſome time of a very grateful partiality. But as that partiality muſt have been either raſhly beſtowed, or withdrawn with levity, the rapid tranſition left my mind in a ſtate of apathy, as to any ſimilar event in future. I plead in my own right. I ſhould never have ſubmitted to the toil of delivering theſe ideas on the preſent topic, but that I conceived,

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from the Government publication* on that ſubject, that notions prevailed, where it is moſt important that they ſhould not, founded in inaccurate policy; and that, unleſs they were re-conſidered, whether the Union take place or not, we could only expect a patch-work ſettlement. I deny the poſition that the Catholics "demand "ſuch an alteration in the Parliamentary Conſti-"tution, as will give their numbers proportionate "power."—(page 20) No ſuch thing. That would be, to demand a Democracy, with all its inconveniencies. Population would then become ſuperior to property, and the acquiſitions of a Catholic would not be more ſafe than thoſe of any other. But they have demanded, and ought to demand, that, without moving any man from his legal place in our ſociety, the tenure of power ſhould be property, and not party. What could any man propoſe to himſelf by aſking for a good houſe, where he knew there muſt be an earthquake? I again deny that "any new Parlia-"mentary Teſt Oath ſhould be formed to ad-"mit the juriſdiction of the Pope." The juriſdiction of the Pope is as clearly aſcertained as the juriſdiction of the King's Bench, and would not be let in on temporal points, by omitting the oaths which aſſert the King's eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy,

* "Reaſon for and againſt an Union."

macy, and which deny the doctrine of the Euchariſt. The ſupremacy of the Pope is practically little more than reverential; and if they are left to themſelves, no perſons are more inclined than his Clergy to cavil at, and reſtrict it.—I am again conſtrained to controvert the poſition (page 25), that there would be indecorum or inconſiſtency in "admitting the Catholics to ſeats in the Le-"giſlature, and retaining the preſent Parliamen-"tary Conſtitution." I think more Catholics might gain admittance to Parliament, under the Borough ſyſtem, than if the baſis of Repreſentation were landed property.

Theſe extracts, and many like paſſages in the ſame publication, according to my apprehenſion, are erroneous in point of fact, inaccurate in policy, calculated to create in the Catholics diſguſt, and further miſapprehenſion in the Proteſtants. Yet it is a work in ſeveral other reſpects of good ſenſe and judgment. It proves in what manner the Catholic queſtion has been underſtood amongſt men of ſituation in the country, who have few opportunities of collecting the ſentiments of that people from intercourſe. It proves to the Catholics how much they have ſuffered by the giddy politics, that have prevailed amongſt many in the metropolis, in conſequence of which their cauſe became

became the footſtool of Democracy; the cant of men who had no ſerious wiſh upon the ſubject. It was huddled up and brought before the public amidſt a throng of impertinencies and indiſcretions, intemperance and innovations. It cannot then be a matter of ſurpriſe that its nature and conſequences were miſapprehended, and that opponents to it aroſe among ſome of the ſoundeſt heads in Ireland. When men were confuſed in the purſuit of their own intereſts, it was leſs extraordinary that the nature and extent of the demand ſhould not be comprehended by others, leſs accuſtomed to conſider them. But the diſpoſition to Jacobiniſm which prevailed in Dublin, (where I deny that it was any thing like univerſal) and in ſome other places, according as the influence of the Dublin party extended to them, is to be aſcribed, in the firſt inſtance to be ſure, to the intrigues of the French Union, and the vehemently ſeditious ſpeeches and publications, which were ſent among the people; but no ſmall part of it was owing to reſentment and diſguſt at the aſſiduous illiberality of the Corporation of this City, and to another cauſe not much noticed. Every body knows the importance of newſpapers in forming the mind of that numerous claſs in this country, who have not leiſure or reading habits beyond the

the daily occurrences, and the remarks that accompany them. Whilſt the prints, in the party of Government, inculcated order and the ſocial duties, they treated the Catholics with malignity. They were of courſe excluded from the houſes of the people thus offended, and the vacant ground was occupied by others, holding a language in all things directly contrary.

The train of evils I have laid down are not within the competence of the Iriſh Government to rectify. There are extravagant accumulations of the ſovereign power in the hands of a few men, which lead alſo to extenſive influence out of Parliament, and the Government cannot be carried on without the concurrence of theſe perſons.—It muſt then be ſubject to their paſſions and caprices, and to thoſe of their adherents, and neither may be liberal and enlightened. Some of them may even protect, or indirectly patroniſe the abuſes we complain of. The reply is, reform the parliament. Whatever attention I am capable of giving to any ſubject, I have beſtowed on the various propoſals, which have been offered to remedy the obvious defects and inconveniencies in the conſtitution of our Houſe of Commons. I have found no ſcheme offered which did not directly lead to one of theſe two practical conſequences, either to render more inveterate,

veterate, the evil of power accumulated in few hands, without a Sovereign's intereſt in the public welfare, and at the ſame time to confer a tenure more ſecure and more independent of the people; or on the other hand to endanger the ſtability of the throne; and of property, which ſeldom has ſurvived the evil deſtiny of its mate; to baniſh commerce by diſquiet; and conduct the nation through the ways of turbulence to anarchy.

To a diſorderly ſyſtem, reſembling in ſeveral particulars, if it were permitted to take effect, the adminiſtration of Egypt by Pacha, Beys, and Mamelukes, the king's adviſers can have no predilection. It is calculated in many inſtances to thwart the royal authority. For although the people have no great benefit from extra-parliamentary oppoſition, ſuch a thing ſeems to exiſt, to what extent men remote from power cannot determine. To riſk an appeal to the people at large would in theſe, or almoſt in any times, be, on the part of Government, an hazardous experiment. But how is the Government itſelf affected? Whilſt the adherence of Ireland to the Empire is, in any reſpect, precarious; whilſt it does not ſtand upon the ſtrongeſt legal ſecurity; whilſt the mettle of Ireland is liable to be ſtirred up to a diviſion by frequent and familiar debate, and high-ſounding appellations,

appellations, ſo long will the ſupreme Government and its Miniſter, the dependant Government, be jealous of this people. It will be apprehenſive of every party, and of the combination of any. We all know how prone, we little mortals are, to fall upon each other, on one pretence or other. The temper and the occaſion will be improved, and diſſenſions connived at, if not fomented, by perſons combining the will, with the ſituation, to act effectively for that purpoſe. The Government will not ſuffer any of the parties to be cruſhed, but will preſerve the equilibrium by occaſionally ſhifting its weight into the balance with the weaker. The Catholics, as more expoſed to the abuſe of power, as being more generally dependant and ſtanding more in need of protection and of quiet, ſeem likely to be the greateſt ſufferers in this horſe-play of politicians. It is very far from my thought in this ſtatement to treat with diſreſpect any individual, or any order whatſoever; but ſuch is the manner in which a perverſe intereſt is likely to affect the actions of very honourable perſons.

This is perhaps, we ſhall be told, an argument for a ſeparation. So it would be, but that a ſeparation would be a ſtill greater evil. An enterprize of ſeparation, ſucceſsful or otherwiſe, would juſt lay

lay the country down, where it was left by Cromwell; and very probably without the ſame opportunities to retrieve from the diſaſter.

What ſecurity have we then of better treatment and a kinder policy after an Union? The very beſt which the nature of the thing admits of, and that is the beſt poſſible, the urgent intereſt of the Imperial Government. Since the loſs of her American dominions, the Britiſh Cabinet ſeems to have felt the neceſſity of bringing forward all the energies of its remaining territory. Britain, as compared to France, is an artificial power which can only maintain, by the reſources of the State founded on the diffuſed proſperity and opulence of its ſubjects, the commanding attitude from which it cannot recede without deſtruction. The wedge muſt be ſtrong, firm, ſolid and compact, by which any impreſſion can be made on the extended front of France, or the edge turned of her modern enthuſiaſm. This is our ſhield againſt the poſſible injuſtice or partiality of men, who, on the Union eſtabliſhment, ſhall be called to adminiſter power in this iſland. Britain at preſent dreads to interfere, leſt it might turn out that ſhe was acting againſt her very valuable intereſts. So ſoon as that apprehenſion ceaſes, the Miniſters of the Crown will be under an irreſiſtible neceſſity to ſatisfy the People, and bring forward all the

capabilities of this kingdom. They are at this day ſo fully ſenſible that the State only exiſts by the accommodation of its ſubjects, that every neglected acre of ground in Great Britain is aſſiduouſly inveſtigated and put to culture. And will they abandon this fair land to be the ſport, and prey, and waſte of ſilly factions? Theſe factions have had a permiſſive exiſtence, and when the purpoſe ſhall ceaſe for which they were wanted, they will be ſuffered to decline into contemptuous oblivion.

For theſe reaſons I chearfully embrace the principle of a legiſlative Union with Great Britain. I do not think any thing better can be done for the country. In the exiſting circumſtances of this part of the Globe, and in any circumſtance which probable conjecture preſents as likely to ariſe, I do not ſee that Ireland can attain a prominent rank in the affairs of Europe. If my country cannot be great, I wiſh to ſee her comfortable. But in our politico-religious arrangement, although we ought to conſult the lights, we ſhould not be bound by the example of Great Britain. In that reſpect the analogy fails between the Countries.

THE END.

IMPARTIAL REMARKS,

ON THE SUBJECT

OF AN

U N I O N.

IN ANSWER TO ARGUMENTS IN FAVOUR OF THAT MEASURE.

IN WHICH

THE SENTIMENTS OF THE

CATHOLIC BODY,

ARE VINDICATED FROM THE CHARGE OF FAVOURING THE PROJECT.

WITH A

R E P L Y

To Mr. Mc. KENNA's

M E M O I R E.

By a FARMER.

VENIENTI OCCURRITE MORBO.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR WILLIAM JONES, No. 26, COLLEGE-GREEN, OPPOSITE THE COLLEGE.

1799.

To his EXCELLENCY the MARQUIS CORNWALLIS.

MY LORD,

AN Iriſh farmer intereſted for the Proſperity of his native Country, naturally turns his eyes to that interpoſition, by which he now enjoys his farm and his repoſe, that interpoſition which has arreſted the progreſs of Diſcord, and with a ray of Divine attribute JUSTICE tempered with MERCY, reſtored PEACE to this diſtracted LAND. What your ſentiments of an UNION may be, I know not; but ſure I am they are the ſentiments of a good HEART. But why ſhould I preſume to addreſs LORD CORNWALLIS, I anſwer in the grateful Language of the Mantuan Shepherd,

> Ille meas errare boves ut cernis & ipſum
> Ludere quæ vellem calamo permiſit agreſti.

That you may live many years to hear the BLESSINGS of the IRISH NATION, and long continue to enjoy the happineſs of making millions happy, is the ſincere wiſh of

THE FARMER.

REMARKS, &c.

THE writer of the above Pamphlet profeſſes himſelf a zealous friend to the happineſs of Ireland; but in proſecuting his ſubject he forgets the avowed object of his pamphlet; and with ſome talents, and much artifice he dwells upon the arguments for an Union only.

He diſplays with great learning the Union of the Sabines and Romans; the Union between the Seven United Provinces; the Union between the confederated States of America; the Union between two Merchants, viz: a poor and a rich Merchant: The only fault in the compariſon of

which Unions with the Union propoſed between England and Ireland, is, that they do not at all bear upon the ſubject.

It was unlucky that in ſpeaking of the admired Union between the American States, he forgot to mention how much blood and treaſure they expended, and how difficult and tedious a ſtruggle they maintained for the purpoſe of breaking their Union with England. How often were the petitions and humble reſpectful complaints of the Americans laid before the Britiſh Parliament, but alas! how were they received? with contempt and inſult. Should the Legiſlature of Ireland be annihilated, will the Engliſh Miniſtry be more attentive to the Intereſts of Ireland than they were to thoſe of America? will the groans and complaints of Ireland be more tenderly reſpected? But we will have Repreſentatives in the Britiſh Parliament, Yes, perhaps as One to Seven or Eight, and of theſe the majority in the Intereſts of the Miniſter. The great Burke, a powerful advocate for Conciliation with America, laughed at the propoſal of having American Repreſentatives in the Britiſh Parliament, as nugatory, ridiculous and inadequate: and yet, if Ireland ſurrenders her Independence by adopting an Union, her only reſources will be, ſuch a ridiculous, and inadequate Repreſentation.

The writer of the above pamphlet does not forget that the Seven United Provinces were united to Spain, and that their confederacy was formed to deſtroy that Union, and to ſupport themſelves againſt its revival.

If any analogy can be drawn from the Situation of America and the Seven United Provinces, it will obviouſly ſpring from this Conſideration. America was united to England; the Seven United Provinces to Spain; as to Situation they were ſeparate Countries: ſo are Britain and Ireland. America and the Seven United Provinces, ſorely feeling the preſſure of the Connexion, after a tedious and bloody conflict, broke their Union, an Union certainly not unlike that, which the above Author ſo warmly recommends between England and Ireland.

The Inſtance of the Sabines and Romans is ſo pitiful as ſcarcely to deſerve notice.

Two barbarous and petty diſtricts in the neighbourhood of each other, in order to put an end to their mutual depredations, agree to join their Governments; two Diſtricts not as large as two Counties in Ireland. Our Author tells us that the Sabines were impelled to this Union by the impoſſibility of maintaining themſelves againſt the Romans; and that by the Union they laid the foundation—of what—was it of Sabine greatneſs

—no—they laid the foundation of Roman greatneſs. There is ſomething ſo playful in this Gentleman's inſult upon our underſtanding, that we can ſcarcely be angry with him.

He next tells us a ſtory of two Merchants, namely, a rich Merchant, and a poor Merchant, ſo far as the reſemblance is intended to ſhew the opulence of Britain and the poverty of Ireland, I admit the correctneſs of the compariſon: but as applied to an Union, the illuſtration might ſtand thus: The rich and intelligent Merchant ſays to the poor and unſkilful Merchant; Let us join in Name but keep our Intereſts ſeparate; Let us live at a diſtance from each other; Let me allure your rich Cuſtomers into my Neighbourhood with the greateſt part of the Riches and of the Specie which circulated in your Neighbourhood before, and which eſſentially contributed to your Comforts; Let me ſupply your Cuſtomers and enjoy all the Profits myſelf; Allow me to underſell you in your own markets, to monopolize all your Buſineſs by overpowering you with my ſuperior ſkill and Manufactures, and thereby driving you into Beggary, Ignorance, Idleneſs, and Famine: but you muſt pay a proportion of all my expences, whether the conſequence of neceſſity or extravagance. Such a contract would not abſurdly expreſs the partnerſhip of an Union.

This gentleman ſeems to fancy a certain charm in the word Union: He tells us that it implies a conſolidation of Power, a reciprocity of Intereſts agricultural and commercial, a ſource of peace, induſtry, wealth and ſubordination. Such is the preamble to its character.

It reminds me of preambles to Acts of Parliament, when an Act is made to diminiſh or reſtrain the Liberty of the Preſs, the preamble to the Act runs thus: "An Act for better ſecuring "the Liberty of the Preſs." When new Duties are laid upon the Importation of Tobacco, the preamble is, "An Act for extending the To-"bacco Trade."

But to illuſtrate this conſolidation of Power, this reciprocity of Intereſts, &c. let me ſuppoſe two gentlemen farmers living not very remote from each other, one extremely rich, the other in humble circumſtances; let me ſuppoſe the rich Man's ground better fenced and ſecured againſt Treſpaſſes; and that he can often annoy the other; his cattle being in better condition and better training, frequently overleap the bounds of the other, whoſe poorer and weaker cattle cannot treſpaſs on him. He is a rich *rogue*, and bribes the Herdſmen and Shepherds of the other to aſſiſt him in his *wrongs;* the other remonſtrates and complains, but he complains and remonſtrates in vain; the rich man appeals to the other's ſervants bribed by

him: they decide againſt their employer. At length the rich Man ſays, my dear Sir, I am ſorry that there are ſo many mutual remonſtrances and complaints amongſt us. For Heaven's ſake, let us conſolidate our power, let us eſtabliſh a ſource of peace, induſtry and wealth, let us bury our wrongs, and our complaints for ever. This can be eaſily effected by forming on my ground a Council conſiſting of twenty of my retainers, and of three of your bribed ſhepherds; of theſe the majority ſhall decide. Can any thing be more equitable, or more conducive to your welfare? But firſt let me obſerve to you, that you muſt entirely abide by the deciſions of this Council, and never entertain hopes of changing your State; the articles of the original Treaty ſhall from time to time be infringed, I mean, they ſhall be enlarged; but then all this will be done by the majority of the above Council, that is, my good friend, we will have an Union.

This writer very familiarly talks of the Improvements in commerce and manufactures, agriculture, induſtry and civilization, which this Country muſt receive from an Union, but he omits to mention how theſe Bleſſings will be produced. He ſays there will be a greater Intercourſe between both Nations.

There has indeed exiſted a long time between both Nations as complete an Intercourſe at leaſt

as the Proſperity of Ireland required. But let us examine the nature of this encreaſed Intercourſe. The number of Abſentees ſo much, and ſo juſtly complained of already, will be encreaſed, i. e. Iriſhmen of property in encreaſed numbers, will convey that property to England; they may acquire civilization by a permanent reſidence in England, but we know from experience that they alſo acquire habits of indifference and contempt for Ireland in proportion to the length of their reſidence in England. The poor who require civilization moſt will remain at home, and what will be the change with reſpect to them.

The man of property who now reſides amongſt them, who diffuſes comforts around him, whoſe money is ſpent amongſt his Tenantry, whoſe approbation encourages induſtry, whoſe frown deters from habits of idleneſs and ſloth, whoſe table inſpires feſtivity and joy, whoſe example communicates cleanlineſs and decency, whoſe reſidence attaches him to his Tenantry, and his Tenantry to him, who gives employment even to their children, who adjuſts their differences, and who alleviates their toils. He will remove to England with all theſe bleſſings in his train. He will leave a wide and diſmal waſte behind him. Is it by ſuch a change, civilization, knowledge, induſtry, will ſpread amongſt the lower orders?

The writer alluded to familiarly aſks; would not a man ſend his child to enjoy good company and to acquire good habits?—Do the opulent men of Ireland want ſuch a ſchooling, for it is the opulent alone that will go to enjoy this bleſſed Society.

This gentleman lays a great ſtreſs on agricultural and commercial Improvements, to which an Union will give birth. Is it the humble and ignorant peaſant rendered more ignorant and more humble by the Union, is it he that will learn thoſe prodigious Improvements in agriculture, for he will then be the reſident? Will he, abandoned by the foſtering encouragement and inſtructions of the rich man, will he, half brutalized, learn ſuperior Improvement from thoſe cauſes of his degradation? Will the great man's agent, active alone in ſcrewing and ſqueezing the Tenantry, unleſs where profuſe and extravagant bribery ſilences his threats or checks his rapacity, will he be a more eligible neighbour than the Lord himſelf? will he be a more proper man to redreſs wrongs and relieve diſtreſs? Such will be the bleſſed reſult of the Union in producing increaſed Improvement in Agriculture.

But we are told there will be an equal Trade, that the commerce of Ireland at leaſt will improve from an Union—yes; protecting Duties will be taken off, and the ſmall reſtraint already laid

on the importation of Engliſh goods will be removed, thus there will be an encreaſed influx of Engliſh manufactures into our ports, ſuch an influx as will entirely cruſh our own infant Manufactures. Engliſh manufactures then entirely releaſed from Duty, will become cheaper in our own Markets, and conſequently more plentiful; and in this double way will operate againſt our own Trade, our own Manufactures, and our own Induſtry. Our Manufacturers will according to our learned Author be thus poliſhed. Unfortunate ſufferers! they feel but too ſorely the conſequences of Engliſh importation into this Country already. If famine and beggary can poliſh, an Union will make them the moſt poliſhed, refined gentlemen on earth. But to enter into this part of the ſubject a little more in detail, let it be obſerved, that the ſoil of England and Ireland, their inſular ſituation, their climate, their temperature, their produce, and conſequently their manufactures are very generally alike; where there is a ſhade of difference, it is for the moſt part in favor of Ireland. The proſperity of both Countries depends very materially on the Improvements of their Commerce at large, and moſt particularly of their own manufactures. From all theſe circumſtances, it is pretty evident that the manufactures of both muſt be nearly of the ſame kind, and that there muſt be a jealouſy and competition between them. It is therefore the intereſt of each country to allow no market to the goods of the other, if ſhe manufactures goods of the ſame kind

herſelf: it is alſo her policy to diſcourage in the other the manufactures which ſhe herſelf produces, (this ſyſtem is univerſally adopted by England, and whenever any able exertion has been made in the Engliſh or Iriſh Parliament to eſtabliſh an arrangement inconſiſtent with her peculiar intereſts and trenching upon this ſyſtem; ſhe has with the moſt marked acrimony inveighed againſt the innovation.) This double principle of diſcouragement and excluſion, which England ſo practically underſtands, and ſo ſucceſsfully enforces, may be carried into effect,

1. By poſſeſſing a greater capital, for then ſhe may ſell every article cheap, for the collective profits upon all the articles, will, in conſequence of her extenſive capital riſe upon the whole to a large amount: She can alſo purchaſe and conſtruct the beſt machinery: She can buy the raw materials to the beſt advantage: She can afford a ſlow return, or, ſhe can allow a more extenſive credit and for a longer time to her cuſtomers and creditors. The capital of England poſſeſſes all theſe advantages over the capital of Ireland.

2. By conveying to herſelf mediately or directly the circulation of the ſpecie and riches of the other country; for thus the capital of the other is diminiſhed, which relatively conſidered is the ſame thing as if her own were encreaſed; her own capital alſo acquires what the capital of the other

loſes, and thus ſhe derives a double advantage from this circumſtance. This plan is ſucceſsfully practiſed by England, for a great part of our wealth is ſpent in England by our *Abſentees*. An Union will immediately encreaſe their number to a moſt alarming degree, and this is one of the main reaſons why England ſo zealouſly preſſes this meaſure; She expects the moſt ſolid commercial benefits from it, and if the meaſure is adopted ſhe will not be diſappointed.

3. By laying heavy duties upon Iriſh manufactured goods, and opening her ports freely, nay giving encouragement to the importation of the raw materials of Ireland; for in this way ſhe diſcourages the induſtry of Ireland, and encourages Ireland to ſend her thoſe materials which encreaſe the means of her own induſtry and wealth; England has carefully attended to this arrangement, the duties upon Iriſh manufactures imported into England are ſo heavy as to amount to a compleat prohibition; but the importation of wool into England is very freely encouraged: We have indeed a market for our linens in England, but this is a manufacture which England has not herſelf.

4. By keeping the ports of Ireland open and free from duty to Engliſh manufactures, this is a meaſure which England has uniformly ſupported, for moſt of the manufactures of England pay ſo light a duty when imported into Ireland, as to

have an excellent market in Ireland, and to bear down our manufactures of the ſame kind.

An Union will entirely remove duties of this kind, and annihilate our own manufactures, and yet one of the boaſted advantages of an Union is an encreaſe of our trade and manufactures.

5. By adding to the taxes or national burden of Ireland, for then embarraſſment and poverty will be more completely and univerſally diffuſed, and therefore the difficulties of manufacturing will be encreaſed. The taxes of Ireland are conſiderable compared with her means, they will be raiſed conſiderably higher by an Union to the ſerious and vaſt diſadvantage of our manufactures. England by carrying an Union will attain two very material objects, ſhe will relieve herſelf from a conſiderable portion of her national burdens, and ſhe will injure the manufactures of Ireland, and conſequently procure a more extenſive ſale for her own.

Thus I think it is pretty evident, that moſt of our commercial arrangements have been for England and againſt Ireland, and that all the conſequences of an Union tend directly to encreaſe the commercial proſperity of England, and to diminiſh that of Ireland. And yet our learned Author ſees rays of commercial happineſs iſſuing from an an Union at every point.

In conſidering duties laid upon imports, it is obvious, that according to the quality of the imported goods, increaſed duties might be uſeful or injurious to Ireland. Let me for inſtance ſuppoſe that Engliſh woollen cloths enter into competition with Iriſh woollens, it is evident that if a heavy duty were laid upon Engliſh woollens imported into Ireland, it would ſerve Ireland materially by protecting her own woollen manufacture. Wines imported into Ireland have no competition in Ireland; we have no wines of our own produce, but wines are an article of very univerſal, and upon many occaſions of very uſeful conſumption, it would therefore be our advantage to have wines imported without duty altogether, or with only a ſmall duty. But how will thoſe duties be regulated by an Union? The duty on wines will certainly be increaſed, the duty on Engliſh imports will be diminiſhed, or perhaps entirely taken off; we may then indeed exclaim, "We have done "what we ought not to have done, and left un- "done what we ought to have done."

But it is ſaid; the Engliſh market will be thrown open to Ireland, let us contend with them in their own market, Yes, we may walk about their markets, we may admire the vaſt extent of their capitals, their great ſobriety and induſtry, and the elegance and perfection of their manufactures, but we ſhall not ſell Iriſh goods there. What can the poor manufacture of the poor Iriſh

capital effect in the Engliſh market againſt Engliſh men, Engliſh induſtry, Engliſh improvements, Engliſh jealouſy, and Engliſh capital.

I ſhall be charged with preſumption in anticipating the arrangements which an Union will eſtabliſh. How dare I aſſert, how can I know, that this will be the general complexion which the commercial and agricultural features of the Union will take. I reply, ſuch has been the complexion of the arrangements between England and Ireland in duties on Manufactures as far as they have gone; and no man can doubt of the effects which Agriculture muſt feel from increaſing the number of our Abſentees. Such are alſo the general effects of the Scottiſh Union. I anſwer too, if we calmly liſten to the propoſal of an Union, and ſuffer its principle to be adopted, it will be too late to expreſs diſapprobation of its conditions, for whatever may be its features, the meaſure will certainly be carried.

The great Swift adviſes Ireland to burn every thing which comes from England but her Coals, and to throw them into the ſea. I ſhould be ſorry this advice was adopted without exception, for then, our learned author might be in danger of adding to the fuel.

Our Author glides ſmoothly over encreaſed taxes, the immediate and obvious conſequences

of an Union, he does not conſider them a grievance, but is perſuaded that the value of land will riſe conſiderably; the preceding obſervations on the influence of an Union, upon the induſtry and manufactures of the Country, are an anſwer to this aſſertion. The effects of encreaſed taxes will further operate againſt the landed property. That incomparable politician Adam Smith, maintains, that the encreaſed price of labour and induſtry of every kind, the encreaſed price of articles of conſumption, wine &c. ariſing from encreaſed taxes will ultimately fall heavy upon landed property.

Mr. Smith a Briton himſelf, wiſhes there were an Union between Ireland and England, but one of his principal arguments is in order that Ireland, may bear a proper ſhare of the common burdens. Such too would be found the reaſoning of our Author, if he were to deliver his ſentiments freely, but there are few Iriſhmen to whom theſe arguments would make an Union palatable. Learned and ingenious as our Author is, he could not eaſily perſuade an Iriſh Gentleman, that it would be his intereſt to pay ſeven ſhillings, rather than three ſhillings for a bottle of claret; that it would be his intereſt to pay eight guineas, rather than four guineas yearly for the expenſe of dreſſing his hair; that it would be his intereſt to pay a duty upon his hat, upon his gloves, that it would be his in-

tereſt to pay a tax for his horſes, his dogs, his ſervants, and his windows, that it would be his intereſt to have an Union which will raiſe to eight hundred pounds a year, that domeſtic eſtabliſhment, which now without the Union coſts him but five hundred pounds a year. That it would be his intereſt rather to be taxed by an Engliſhman, than by an Iriſhman, an Engliſhman who knows nothing about him, who cares nothing about him, who from habit and illiberal prejudice deſpiſes, perhaps hates him, and who is only ſolicitous to relieve himſelf by throwing a conſiderable portion of his burdens on the ſhoulders of the Iriſhman.

Will the conſideration of effects like theſe, (for theſe will be the effects of an Union) induce the Iriſh Gentleman to convey his independance into the hands of an Engliſhman for ever.

The proſperity of Scotland is a topic of general exultation with our author, and a proof how much an Union ſerved that country. Circumſtances exiſted at the time of the Scottiſh Union which poſſibly made ſuch a meaſure neceſſary. This ſubject is ably ſtated in an ingenious pamphlet written by Mr. Spencer, to which I refer the reader. Ireland within thoſe twenty years has proſpered more without an Union, than Scotland has ſince the Union; Ireland twenty years ago was not as

proſperous as Scotland before the Union, but the commerce and wealth of Ireland is at leaſt equal to that of Scotland at preſent. The peaſantry in Scotland notwithſtanding their ſobriety and induſtry (of which they have a large ſhare) are in general very poor. The fine ſeats there are for the moſt part inhabited by agents and ſhepherds. Had the peaſantry and manufacturers of Ireland the ſobriety, the ſkill and the induſtry which thoſe of Scotland have, Ireland in ſpight of all her diſadvantages, would ſoon be one of the richeſt Countries on the Globe. There is certainly a very general complaint againſt the Union in Scotland and the poverty of that country is by many aſcribed to it. Our learned author himſelf acknowledges that we have thoſe twenty years had the experience of national encreaſe in population, advancements in agriculture, in manufactures, in wealth, and in proſperity; and he ſays, that it is univerſally admitted no country in the World ever made ſuch rapid advances as Ireland has done in theſe reſpects. What? Has Ireland been proſperous in ſo ſuperior a degree thoſe twenty years, and that without an Union, more proſperous than Scotland itſelf which had the ample bleſſings of an Union? Pray, kind Sir! Would it not be madneſs in Ireland, in this career of proſperity, in theſe rapid and diffuſive improvements in agriculture, population, wealth, and commerce; would it not be madneſs to riſk a great and ſudden change by adopting an Union? But our ingenious

author ſays—yet her proſperity has been of no avail—indeed—no, for diſcontent, diſcord, conſpiracy and rebellion, have ſhot up with our proſperity.—What then is the obvious remedy? Does it not appear to be the deſtruction of our population, our commerce, our agriculture, our manufactures, and our wealth; for he tells us they have been of no avail; they have only brought diſcontent, diſcord, conſpiracy, and rebellion in their train: and indeed the gentleman recommends a remedy fully adequate to ſuch a method of cure: he ſtrenuouſly urges an Union.

Our author knows that within theſe few years far other cauſes than the want of an Union, have produced treaſons, diſcontents, conſpiracies and rebellion, not only in Ireland, but over the face of civilized Europe, indeed over the faireſt and moſt extenſive parts of the Globe.

He tells us Edinburgh has not been injured by an Union. I am not quite old enough to remember what Edinburgh was before an Union, but this I have no heſitation in aſſerting, that Edinburgh compared with Dublin now, is a very poor town. It has but a poor trade even including Leith harbour, and but a very ſlender circulation of money. Does our ingenious author know that the numerous poor reſidents of that Town, conſider the reſort of medical ſtudents one of the greateſt ſources of their ſupport, and particularly

the reſort of Iriſh ſtudents, becauſe theſe, perhaps, are the moſt numerous claſs of that deſcription, though the inhabitants are ſure to hate the Iriſh almoſt as cordially as the gentleman himſelf. Perhaps an Union between Ireland and England would diſſipate this hatred of the Scotch.—*Solamen miſeris ſocios habere doloris.*—Houſe rent indeed is very cheap in Edinburgh; you will get as good a houſe there for fifty guineas a year, as you will in Dublin for an hundred guineas a year, this cheapneſs is certainly one of the conſequences of the Scottiſh Union; and if an Union takes place here, the houſes of Dublin will be every atom as cheap.

Our kind author encourages Dublin to ſupport an Union, becauſe (he tells her) there will be Canals diverging from her to all the internal parts of Ireland, and ſhe will therefore enjoy the monopoly of the corn trade. But obſerve, ſir, that in holding forth this monopoly to Dublin, you tell the reſt of Ireland they loſe by the monopoly, nay you tell them they loſe a fair trade, becauſe every monopoly is an invaſion of a general bleſſing; and conſidered as a meaſure of national arrangement it throws into the hands of a few what belongs to the many; therefore it is an act of glaring injuſtice. Sometimes indeed a monopoly might perhaps be neceſſary in trading between remote Nations jealous and ignorant of each other; but

there can be no ſuch reaſon why Dublin ſhould monopolize a trade which fairly belongs to Ireland at large.

But I had nearly forgot; our author in ſpeaking of this monopoly ſpeaks alſo of an Union, and actually ſeems to think that the ſituation of Dublin and the courſe of our canals depend upon an Union: but ſir, let me remind you, that the courſe of the canals and the local ſituation of Dublin are exactly the ſame that they would be after an Union. Theſe bleſſings then which you promiſe Dublin after an Union, Dublin happens to poſſeſs before and without an Union, and I think in ahigher degree, becauſe in conſequence of the greater population and proſperity of Dublin at preſent than after the Union, it is more than probable ſhe receives more corn at preſent than ſhe would after the Union either for the purpoſes of conſumption or export. But he reaſons thus not to ſhew Dublin that theſe advantages will ariſe from an Union, but that an Union cannot deſtroy them. Yes, he comforts Dublin with the hope that a ſhred of her former proſperity will remain.

Cork we are aſſured will grow immenſely rich in conſequence of this Union. But why Cork? Becauſe ſhe faces the Channel and has an excellent harbour. But ſurely Cork has as free a power of trading to all parts of the Globe now as ſhe will after the Union. There is no part of the World to which ſhe is not allowed to trade except to the

Eaſt: ſhe is not allowed to enjoy the commerce of India nor of China: England herſelf is not permitted to enjoy this trade: It is confined to a trading company in England: It will be confined to them after the Union. Perhaps two outward-bound Indiamen, inſtead of one, might be ordered to touch at Cork. Bleſſed conſequences of an Union! We may perhaps have teas ſomewhat cheaper; theſe are an article of general conſumption, and therefore a reduction in their price would be very deſirable. But we have no data from which we may infer that we ſhall experience a reduction even in the price of this delicious poiſon. Speak out good ſir. In congratulating Cork on the proſpect of ſuperior wealth and commerce to be expected from an Union, do you not mean that, in conſequence of her local ſituation, ſhe will be a ſtore-houſe for Engliſh imports; do you not congratulate her upon the probability of her favouring and multiplying the cauſes of idleneſs and miſery to the Iriſh manufacturer: Such would be your reaſoning if you ſpoke the language of your heart. In mentioning the harbour of Cork he is more candid. He ſays that in conſequence of the extent of the Britiſh navy, a new Station is much wanted; and that the harbour of Cork is well adapted to her purpoſe, and that a dock-yard might be built there—very well. In the name of God then let the Navy uſe that harbour. It is now as compleatly open to the Britiſh Navy as it could be after an Union. But, ſays our author,

allow an Union and perhaps the Britiſh navy will be ſent there. Is an Union the ſine qua non. Obſerve how the queſtion ſtands. The Engliſh are diſtreſſed for an harbour for their navy. Cork is exactly that harbour. It would be of important advantage to the Engliſh to ſend their navy there. It would materially ſerve Ireland alſo: and yet the Engliſh will not ſend any part of their navy to the harbour of Cork unleſs Ireland ſubmits to an Union; that is, England is better pleaſed to ſuffer a ſevere inconvenience herſelf, than to remove the inconvenience as that removal would ſerve Ireland. Ireland cannot expect this favor from England, but at the price of an Union, though, he confeſſes England would profit by the conceſſion. This is true Engliſh liberality. It is that liberality which ſprings from the habits and ſentiments of this writer.

He informs us that Cork has an excellent harbour for men of war to reſort to for the protection of the Iſland and its commerce; that it is alſo the emporium of proviſions for the Britiſh navy, and a place for all homeward-bound convoys in time of war, when the channel might be dangerous to approach,—But, wiſe and learned ſir, Cork is juſt now all this as effectually and compleatly as ſhe would be ſo after an Union.

He tells us Limerick and Waterford would not be particularly affected except in proportion as an

Union, by inducing the extenſion of trade ſhould naturally augment their commercial exertions— State the propoſitions thus—

Limerick and Waterford would not be particularly affected except in proportion as an Union by an inundation of Engliſh manufactures, by the diminution of Iriſh capital, and by crippling our own manufactures ſhould naturally paralyze their commercial exertions.

We are told that Engliſh capitals will be brought to Ireland after the Union becauſe labour is cheaper here than in England. Why then have not Engliſh capitals been transferred to Ireland at any time before the Union? Has not labour been and is it not now cheaper than it will be after the Union? Encreaſed taxes the immediate companions of the Union will make the neceſſaries of life, and therefore will make labour of every kind dearer: The inducement ariſing from cheapneſs of labour therefore exiſted more in favor of Engliſh capitals, in this country before, than it can exiſt after the Union: Engliſh goods will be imported in greater quantity and cheaper into this country after than they have been before the Union, becauſe the Protecting Duties will be removed; conſequently the reſident manufacturer muſt then ſell his goods cheaper, that is, the reſident capitals in Ireland will for theſe two reaſons bring leſs profits after the Union than they would

have brought before the Union; and yet we are confidently told that, after the Union, the Engliſhman will bring his capital amongſt us, though he will not before the Union, when theſe cauſes did not exiſt, and when of courſe his profits would be higher.*

I can perceive no greater encouragement that an Union can offer the Engliſhman for transferring his capital to Ireland; unleſs it be, that he foreſees the ruin of Iriſh capital in an Union, and that therefore, he will have leſs Iriſh manufacture to contend with in the Iriſh market.

Our author obſerves that Ireland, independent Ireland, has at this moment her commerce in all parts of the world protected without expence by the Britiſh navy. Her country is protected by Britiſh troops from foreign and domeſtic enemies, —but ſurely he does not forget that Iriſh troops alſo form a part of our protection, and that Iriſhmen make a very conſiderable part of the ſailors and marines of the Britiſh navy; but allowing the full force of this obſervation, it amounts to this; that Ireland has her commerce, her extenſive commerce protected; her country defended from foreign enemies; her internal tranquillity ſecured againſt domeſtic enemies: ſhe alſo poſſeſſes independence. What more can an Union effect? Or ſuppoſe an Union ſettled, will not our commerce be protected, our Country be protected

from foreign and domeſtic enemies by fleets and armies; Will the Union point out a new mode of protection?

He very kindly deſires us to reſtore to Ireland good humour, and tranquillity, and comfort and ſecurity; her fugitives will ſoon return. He certainly inſinuates, though he does not directly venture to avow it, that all this will be effected by an Union.

Would not the propoſition be ſtated much more fairly in this manner?

Wreſt from Ireland good humour, tranquillity, comfort, ſecurity; her fugitives will encreaſe in numbers, her miſeries will encreaſe, her turbulence will encreaſe, her rebellious ſpirit will encreaſe: The enemies hopes of invading the country with ſucceſs will encreaſe; becauſe her diſcontents and diſtractions and poverty and idleneſs and vices will encreaſe.

He ſays let theſe Countries be *united*, and Ireland will be gradually riſing to the level of England, or England gradually ſinking to the level of Ireland. And he ſays this as gravely as if he believed one ſyllable of it; but I will take the liberty of putting it into the following ſhape.—Let theſe countries be *united*, and Ireland will be not gradually but rapidly ſinking beneath her own level, and England riſing upon her ruins.

Our author delivers his propoſitions, as ſelf-evident, and draws his inference as if it naturally ſprung from theſe obvious propoſitions. But the truth is, his inferences were firſt prepared, and he then ſought for the moſt plauſible premiſes from which ſuch a concluſion might follow. His concluſion was firſt ſhaped to his views, and then his premiſes moulded and modelled to fit his concluſion.

Another of his ſelf-evident propoſitions is; an Union has this advantage; it may be our *ſalvation*, it cannot be our *ruin*.

By a little alteration the propoſition might ſtand thus:—An Union has this diſadvantage, it may be our *ruin*, it cannot be our *ſalvation!*

This gentleman plays off with great dexterity a very ſerious objection to an Union: the objection is; An Union muſt be our *ruin* or *deſtruction*! All we want is a good ſteady Adminiſtration wiſely and firmly conducted, and then all will go well. This propoſition is to my humble capacity very intelligible: he however affects to be perplexed about the meaning of a firm and ſteady Adminiſtration. Does the good man conſider ſuch an Adminiſtration a *chimera?* Does he now grown old in the trade of Parliament; Does he in vain ſeek to find in his *own* Parliamentary *habits* an explanation of ſuch an Adminiſtration? Does

his own experience fail to help him out? Does he conſider it ſuch an Adminiſtration as never will, as never can exiſt, where he has any influence? Were he to look to the Adminiſtration of Lord C——nw——s, I think he would find ſomething of the above deſcription, viz. a wiſe and firm adminiſtration. That good man, and great man, becauſe a good man has the bleſſings of the Iriſh Nation, a few perhaps like the learned writer himſelf excepted. Is our author aſtoniſhed that the ſaviour of the Iriſh nation differs ſo widely from the example of other Engliſhmen who come amongſt us, whoſe gratitude it is to hate the Iriſh in proportion as they eat of our *bread* and fatten upon our *ſoil.* The tranquillity and ſecurity which the Adminiſtration of this excellent man produced, until an Union began to be agitated, proves to demonſtration, that in the preſent ſtate of our Legiſlature, all would go well if we had a wiſe and firm Adminiſtration.

This writer tells us that, the conſpiracies, the inſurrections, the rebellions which have diſgraced us, proclaim our defects in civilization and policy. I lament that in many inſtances this obſervation is true, but ſome of the moſt poliſhed parts of Europe have within theſe few years been equally disfigured: nor would it be a difficult matter to prove, that moſt of theſe misfortunes have often ſprung from the reverſe of a wiſe and firm adminiſtration. But what

remedy does he recommend? An Union.—An Union will produce tranquillity, ſecurity, commercial and agricultural advantages. Let us examine how theſe advantages follow. If ſuch bleſſings can exiſt as the effect of an Union, they muſt ſpring from the improved ſtate of the peaſants and artificers, the two great claſſes of the Iriſh poor. By the encreaſe of abſentees the peaſant becomes more poor, more idle, more ignorant, more vicious, more drunken, (for drunkenneſs is the refuge of the idle and the wretched.) The reſtraint of the greatman's preſence is removed, his aſſiſtance and encouragement are removed. Theſe cauſes render the peaſant a fitter inſtrument of rebellion, and more ſanguinary and ferocious when he engages in it. Before the rebellion, it was generally and loudly aſſerted, and aſſerted with truth, that the rebellious ſpirit which broke forth in acts of robbery and murder, would have been more compleatly ſuppreſſed, if the gentlemen were to live at home, and carefully watch over and attend to the ſtate of their tenantry. Thus the Union is pregnant with thoſe cauſes which drive the peaſant into rebellion. The ſame reaſoning applies to the manufacturer, with this difference, that he will be more compleatly miſerable than the peaſant, all his reſources periſh. He will have nothing to do, but to think of ways and means of robbery and rapine. It has been obſerved in the progreſs of

the rebellion, that the greateſt atrocities were perpetrated by the pooreſt, and that their leaders frequently endeavoured to reſtrain their fury. What alarming conſequences are then, not to be feared from a meaſure, which may have the tendency of making the lower claſſes more miſerable, more ferocious, more rebellious, more ſanguinary.

In recommending an Union to the landed gentlemen, our Author ſays—If an Union would produce more tranquillity, ſecurity, commercial and agricultural advantages, eſtates would be proportionably benefited. He allows himſelf an excellent ſalvo in his—if—. Will he permit me to ſtate the propoſition thus? If an Union would produce diſcontents, diſaffection, turbulence, the ruin of agricultural and commercial advantages, eſtates would be proportionably injured. This gentleman talks of an Union, as if it could mechanically impel Ireland towards England. But ſurely we at preſent ſee the ſuperior advantages of improved commerce and agriculture in England, as clearly as we could ſee them after the Union. Many of the moſt opulent Iriſh ſee them often, perhaps every ſeaſon; theſe frequently return to their native ſoil, after ſome reſidence in England, and upon their return muſt they not perceive the neceſſity and room there is for improvement; and the conſequence has been that in many inſtances improvement is happily

going forward. But after the Union, it is true, great numbers of the opulent Iriſh will go to England, but they will remain there and neither ſee nor feel the neceſſity of improvement at home. From not ſeeing their eſtates they will loſe ſight of improvement, from not mixing with nor ſeeing their tenantry, they will become perfectly indifferent about their ſituation. A wealthy man reſiding for a length of time in any one place, acquires a knowledge of the poor around him. He learns to take an intereſt in their miſery and to relieve it, gratitude for his kindneſs and perhaps hopes of greater kindneſs attach the poor to him, and thus is formed a ſource of much friendſhip and eſteem. If they are his tenants the bonds of friendſhip and union, are drawn more cloſely, for then his profit cooperates with his feelings, in making him enter more intimately into their ſituation, and endeavour to improve it. They are anxious to improve his eſtate, to ſhew their gratitude. They ſtrive to avoid bad and vicious habits, and to cultivate thoſe of honeſty and induſtry, to court his approbation. Experience ſoon convinces them, that they are adopting the ſteps, and purſuing the means which enſure their own comforts in labouring to pleaſe their Lord. And our Countrymen who viſit foreign climes, and foreigners who reſide amongſt us, acknowledge that in the generous and benevolent qualities of the heart, no nation on earth ſtand

more eminently diſtinguiſhed than the Iriſh; what a pity that the beſt methods are not reſorted to, for improving and directing thoſe excellent qualities. But alas! inſtead of amelioration, what a diſmal gloom will ſucceed to the fair ſunſhine of the greatman's preſence? We may exclaim in the language of Sterne, O Abſentees! Abſentees! what have you not to anſwer for.

It is truly obſerved that humanity and all the other amiable virtues of the heart, are moſt ſucceſsfully cultivated in high life, by a familiar intercourſe with thoſe in the induſtrious, and humble paths of it; and that all the qualities which contribute to inſtruct, to edify and improve the lower claſſes, are beſt acquired by mixing with thoſe of ſuperior rank, particularly if honeſt and virtuous. It is the nature of example to deſcend. The univerſal and irreſiſtible principle of imitation, fixes the attention of the poor man upon the rich, and tinges his conduct with the rich man's vices and follies, or purifies it by an imitation of his virtues.

Our Author aſks, what can an Iriſh patriot wiſh for his country, but that its inhabitants ſhould attain the ſame habits and improvements which makes England the envy of Europe?—I entirely agree with him, I believe the moſt ſanguine wiſhes of an Iriſh patriot would extend

no farther. But then he proceeds to aſk, by what means can he hope to attain that end ſo effectually as by an Union.—I reply by the following ſuppoſition.—Ireland and England enjoy independent legiſlatures; ſuppoſe it were propoſed that Britain ſhould form an Union with Ireland, that the court ſhould reſide permanently in Ireland, that conſequently many of the moſt opulent inhabitants of Britain, were to fix themſelves in Ireland, that a vaſt portion of the commerce of England were transferred to Ireland, and that this propoſal were gravely laid before the Britiſh parliament. Let me aſk this gentleman, how would it be received? Would any arguments or any conſideration for the benefits of the empire reconcile the Britiſh nation to it? Would it not be treated as an impracticable and extravagant propoſal, calculated to deſtroy the happineſs of the Britiſh nation? and yet ſuch a change would certainly prove profitable to Ireland. Thus indeed would be accompliſhed the wiſhes of the Iriſh patriot. It is thus that the intercourſe between both countries, would produce the moſt ſubſtantial bleſſings to Ireland. It is thus that Engliſhmen of wealth and induſtry mixing amongſt us, would effect thoſe happy improvements which our learned author augurs from that Union, which will lay waſte ſome of the faireſt parts of our land, and which will tranſport for ever our money and induſtry to a

foreign ſoil. If the above importation of Britiſh wealth, reſidence and induſtry would ſerve Ireland materially, is it not very clear that the oppoſite cauſe muſt moſt materially injure her. Would Ireland profit by an influx of Engliſh money, Engliſh induſtry, and Engliſh manners; and ſhall ſhe not be ruined by having manners, induſtry, and money torn from her boſom and tranſplanted to England never to return.

Our author enters at great length into the more ſolid ſecurity which an Union will procure for the Church Eſtabliſhment in Ireland, and for the connection between England and Ireland.

Every thinking man in both Countries knows that the united operations of England and Ireland can be, and actually are brought into action as effectually now as they could be after an Union, either for ſecuring the eſtabliſhment or maintaining the connection; and the gentleman himſelf proves this in one of his propoſitions. In order to intimidate the Eccleſiaſtics, he lays great ſtreſs upon theory and ſpeculation, againſt practice, and ſays,—the Iriſh Parliament is independent, it might ſubvert the eſtabliſhment.—Here he loſes ſight entirely of the conduct of the Iriſh Parliament, of the great patronage of the Crown in Iriſh Boroughs, of the influence of the Britiſh Cabinet in the Iriſh Parliament, and of the King's negative; that is, he loſes ſight of practice, of

facts, of Conſtitution, and of experience, and relies on the importance of empty and partly of falſe theory! He examines the arrangements made for the different deſcriptions of Religioniſts in Ireland: he widens the breach between them all by ſhewing the neceſſity that ſubſiſts for their rancorous and illiberal ſuſpicions and perſecutions of each other; he tears them aſunder; he ſays the Catholics were moſt peaceable when they were moſt miſerable; he reſorts to the ſyſtem of ſplitting and commanding; and then with the *moſt gracious kindneſs* he harmonizes them into a truly charitable underſtanding with each other, by recommending an Union! He tells you that harmony and happineſs amongſt Iriſhmen were his only object, and that he recommended an Union merely becauſe he conſidered it the moſt ſucceſsful means of attaining both!

As to the inveſtigation of party queſtions I am as reluctant to enter into the conſideration of them as this gentleman can be. He tells us of factions and diſſentions ſpringing up in Ireland from the oppoſition in England.—Factions indeed and Diviſions have been by repeated and glaring artifices long ſupported in this Country, ſhamefully and inhumanly ſupported for the vileſt of purpoſes! Ireland has been ſplit and divided into hoſtile factions in order to prepare her for an Union! and then theſe hoſtilities, and their melancholy conſequences are urged as inducements to an Union by this Gentleman, and will be urged

by *ſwarms* of others actuated by the ſame *honor* and impelled by the ſame *motives*. Good God! are Iriſhmen ſo infatuated as to be impoſed upon by artifices ſo groſs, by motives ſo corrupt?

We are told that by proper attention to the Articles of the Union, we may be effectually ſecured againſt the unreaſonable load of Taxes which we apprehend; but to whom ſhall we appeal for redreſs if the Union be violated? certainly to the Britiſh Parliament, that is to the very perſons who infringe the Union we will appeal for redreſs from their own injuſtice. The Scottiſh Union has been repeatedly violated, and the complaints of the Scotch met with no redreſs. The violation of the Scotch Union ſhall be brought into precedent, and the Scottiſh repreſentatives will make a party againſt us. The miniſter will contrive to be aſked, What, has not this been done with reſpect to Scotland, and will it not be done with reſpect to Ireland? Will the whole Scottiſh Nation be inſulted by ſhewing a decided preference in favor of Ireland? Will the Iriſh Union be reſpected and the Scottiſh Union infringed? Will not the neceſſities of the State be an ample apology for the infringement? Does our learned author imagine that new burthens will be laid on England and Scotland, and not on Ireland? This would indeed be ſurpaſſing the Chriſtian principle of ſocial benevolence; it would be loving their neighbours not as themſelves, but better than

themſelves; a principle in which the Engliſh certainly do not excel all other Nations.

If an Union takes place, the appeals from our Courts of Juſtice will be made to the Lords of England, a circumſtance which muſt materially affect the purity of Juſtice. In the proſecution of legal redreſs it will give the rich man an advantage over the poor man. The rich man ſecure in the reſources of his wealth, will right or wrong boldly appeal; he knows the poor man cannot appeal, he cannot afford to live perhaps ſeveral months in England, he cannot defray the expences of a tedious ſuit; thus the rich man is encouraged in his oppreſſion of the poor man, a grievance which alone ſhould excite unanimous oppoſition to the meaſure.

Our author ſpeaks of the reſiſtance which the queſtion of an Union muſt encounter from the Barriſters, though in the ſame *breath* he tells them it will contribute much to the extent of their profeſſional knowledge! He warms upon this occaſion and calls them a *phalanx*, *adventurers*, *perſons ready to bring their abilities to market!* In general he uſes the language and manners of a gentleman; but in addreſſing himſelf to the Lawyers, his uſual *decency* forſakes him: he gets into epithets illiberal as they are unuſual with him. He foreſees oppoſition from them againſt his *favorite meaſure!* But why anticipate oppoſition from

them, for he tells them they will not ſuffer profeſſionally from an Union! He tells them that Engliſh Barriſters are in the ſtate in which Iriſh Barriſters ſhall be after the Union. Why then does he expreſs ſo much alarm from the reſiſtance of the Bar? Does he fear the great collective wiſdom and learning of that reſpectable body? Does he fear their independent ſpirit, their great legal and conſtitutional knowledge. Volumes could not more clearly expreſs his genuine ſentiments of an Union. He addreſſes to the Lawyers the *argumentum ad crumenam* which he finds ſo often ſucceſsful. He comforts them with the aſſurance that all their places of emolument will remain, and even then he cannot diveſt himſelf of apprehenſion. If he had thought the meaſure uſeful to Ireland, would he have taken all theſe *pains*, would he have expreſſed all theſe *terrors*?

Our author was not miſtaken. The almoſt unanimous oppoſition of that *body*, but too ſtrongly proclaimed the juſtneſs of his fears.

The Miniſter chooſes a moment for urging this meaſure when the public mind is ſo agitated, as to be ſcarcely able to conſider any queſtion diſpaſſionately. He chooſes a time for it when many of our people harraſſed by civil diſſentions would gladly graſp at any thing which promiſes peace, however treacherous or fallacious the means; therefore it is that our learned author dwells ſo

ſtrenuouſly on the tranquillity which he aſſerts muſt attend an Union; and yet he is afraid the Union may breed diſturbance. He ſays—if it is to be decided by paſſion or by force, there is no miſchief which the agitation of the queſtion may not produce. What does the gentleman mean by force? Is the Miniſter prepared to have recourſe to force; or does he fear that the Iriſh Nation will reſort to force in order to prevent it. I hope the Miniſter will not puſh the experiment. Our author recommends to conſider it calmly: he knows that it is only by a ſpirited, unanimous and early reſiſtance it can be defeated: he therefore recommends that apathy which enſures its ſucceſs.

We are told that many of the manufacturing towns in England are againſt an Union from a conviction of its great utility to Ireland and conſequent injury to England. I ſhould not indeed be ſurpriſed if the Miniſter were to procure and encourage ſtrong remonſtrances and petitions againſt an Union from many parts of England, particularly from the manufacturing parts of it. Such a conduct is not inconſiſtent with the man who vigorouſly oppoſes the Slave Trade, but takes care that his oppoſition is fruſtrated. Petitions like theſe may diſplay an appearance of oppoſition from England againſt an Union, on the ground of its great utility to Ireland, and therefore may hold forth a ſtrong recommendation to the meaſure in this Country; and *he kind ſoul*,

will perſevere in preſſing a meaſure fraught with ſuch happineſs for his favorite *Iriſh*, notwithſtanding any oppoſition from England: He will alſo expend, or perhaps has already expended upwards of a Million of Engliſh Money, in order to procure, by means of bribery, a ſupport for this meaſure; All for the good of Ireland!

Quicquid id eſt timeo Danaos & dona ferentes.

We are told that the French nation with *fire and ſword* forces freedom upon its *favorites*, and that if they are ſuch blockheads as to refuſe the *favor*, the French will butcher one-half of them in order to make the other half free! Is our excellent Miniſter prepared to imitate the example? Will he force upon the Iriſh the meaſure of an Union, though they loudly declare againſt it?

Some aſſert that the Catholics throughout the Kingdom are advocates for an Union, becauſe it will pull down the reſt of their Fellow-Subjects to the ſame level with themſelves, and this language is uſed as an argument in favor of an Union. This indeed is arguing on new ground. I have known inſtances where the wiſhes of the Catholics in favor of a meaſure have been urged as arguments for its rejection. But as to the aſſertion I deny it, poſitively deny it. From extenſive habits of intimacy with Catholics I can affirm the contrary. I never heard one of them ſpeak of an Union but with marked diſapprobation; however to exa-

mine a little the ſentiments of that great, that reſpectable, that much calumniated claſs of his Majeſty's ſubjects: We know that in 94, they were promiſed Emancipation; it was expected that as a return of gratitude they would acquieſce in an Union? In 95, the ſcene was ſhifted and they were fruſtrated in their hopes of independence; they were not then to expect Emancipation but on condition that they would declare for an Union; that is, an Union was made the indiſpenſable purchaſe of their Emancipation. How did the Catholics then act? They firmly and generouſly declared they would oppoſe their own Emancipation if an Union were to be the price. And yet in 98, the Catholics are charged with ſupporting an Union from the moſt illiberal and malignant motives! Such is the cruel concluſion drawn from their noble, their unparalleled generoſity.

A
REPLY
TO
Mr. Mc. KENNA's
MEMOIRE.

A PAMPHLET has lately appeared with the Signature of Mr. Mc. Kenna, in which the principle of uniting the Britiſh and Iriſh Legiſlatures is highly commended.

This writer principally dwells on the deſtructive ſyſtem of forming Aſſociations, founded not upon political but religious diſtinctions. As far as the Pamphlet bears upon that queſtion it has my moſt decided approbation. The national diſtraction which muſt ſpring from ſuch Aſſociations though formed by men of the moſt excellent characters, muſt appear obvious to every reflecting mind. A ſyſtem whoſe moſt prominent feature is excluſion, whoſe eſſence and ſubſtance conſiſt in eſtabliſhing and ſupporting the domination of one religious deſcription of Subjects over all others, and in openly proclaiming the hoſtility of their ſentiments by teſts of excluſion, cannot be favourable to the great ends of ſocial happineſs or national elevation. Such a ſyſtem by ſelfiſh illiberality and feeble inſolence of Power

may exaſperate, may divide and weaken. It never can be the ſource of love, ſtrength, happineſs, or greatneſs. The members of theſe Aſſociations exclaim that they only make a diſtinction between the loyal and diſaffected, between the conſtitutional ſubject and the rebel, and yet their Teſt excludes the Catholic; does not this clearly ſhew that they conſider Catholic and Rebel as ſynonymous terms, and that they equally ſtigmatize them both. The miniſter of England and the other advocates for an Union are rejoiced to perceive ſuch a diviſion amongſt IRISHMEN. Every inſtrument which has a tendency to encreaſe that diviſion gives them peculiar ſatisfaction: They would gladly improve the Orange Syſtem of ſplitting and enfeebling throughout the whole Iſland; and through ſuch a ſucceſsful medium of diſtraction they would reduce all the Inhabitants of this Land into two equally balanced hoſtile factions——*Hoc Ithacus velit & magno mercentur Atridæ*——If the members of theſe Aſſociations only make (as they profeſs) a diſtinction between the loyal and diſaffected, let their old Teſt be aboliſhed, and a new one formed that ſhall bear no traces of religious rancour or bigotry. By ſuch a change might be eſtabliſhed a formidable reſiſtance to the Union in conſequence of the harmony and underſtanding which it would effect amongſt all deſcriptions of Iriſhmen. Proteſtant, Diſſenter, and Catholic would then meet, aſtoniſhed that the artifice or profligacy of any

man had torn aſunder thoſe whom Nature and Reaſon ſo long endeavoured, but endeavoured alas, in vain to unite.

The writer of the above Pamphlet turns the ſyſtem of Orange Lodges into an argument for an Union; he intimates that ſuch Aſſociations will periſh after an Union, and he ſeems to dwell on the national miſchief which they produce in order to diſplay the bleſſings of that Union which muſt prove fatal to their exiſtence.

The writer inſinuates that the energy of the Empire might be augmented by ſimplifying its Conſtitution, ſurely to ſimplify is not always to improve. The moſt ſimple of all Conſtitutions is that of an unqualified abſolute Monarchy, but I fancy his Eulogium will not go quite ſo far as to raiſe it above all other forms of Government.

He tells us that it is propoſed to tranquillize Ireland by removing a great domeſtic cauſe of irritation.—I wiſh he would have condeſcended to inform us what cauſe of irritation an Union would remove. Does the cauſe of irritation conſiſt in having our own Parliament, a rapidly encreaſing Proſperity ſince that Parliament was made free, the circulation of a great ſhare of Wealth amongſt us, a Commerce advancing with ſuch giant ſtrides as to awaken all the ſelfiſh jealouſy of England,

and the refidence of a great majority of our men of property and of riches. If all thefe are this cauſe of domeſtic irritation, an Union will remove it indeed.

He ſuppoſes Governments erected upon every ten ſquare miles of Europe, and then with a triumphant diſplay of eloquence, with poliſhed and ſounding periods (every one concluded with a long note of admiration) he tells us, what a melancholy group of ſorry Governments they would make, particularly if they were always cutting each others throats from ear to ear; this however he intends only as a pleaſing digreſſion to relieve us from the immenſe fatigue of having waded through two pages of his Pamphlet certainly not incumbered with much argument.

But leaſt this digreſſion ſhould paſs for reaſoning in ſupport of an Union, I will reply to it in the animated language of Mr. Gould at the Bar meeting—"With as many advantages as ancient "Sicily ever poſſeſſed we have to plead for us the "encreaſed and encreaſing light of human nature, "the uncalculated and incalculable ſtrides of the "human underſtanding. In this Country we "have as grateful a Soil, as temperate a Cli-"mate, as convenient Ports, and as ſafe Har-"bours as ever Sicily poſſeſſed. We have a "more hardy and a more ſturdy race of Inhabi-"tants, and we have that which is paramount to

" them all; without which theſe advantages are
" but as ſo many temptations to ruin; we have
" an intellectual mind devoted to the cauſe of
" Liberty and Independence.—It is impoſſible
" then that the moſt profligate Miniſter that ever
" exiſted can ſucceed in making us a province of
" any Country. With a population of near five
" Millions of People; with a Territory of conſi-
" derable extent; with the moſt convenient Ports
" and Harbours in the habitable World; with a
" brave and hardy race of Inhabitants; with a
" benignity of Climate and fertility of Soil, de-
" monſtrated by every Hour of our Exiſtence,
" and every inch of our Territory, it is impoſſi-
" ble that we were in the diſtribution of Nature
" intended as a Province. Travel from North
" to South; from Eaſt to Weſt; you will ſee the
" bounties of Providence. I want not the aſſiſt-
" ance of Divine inſpiration to foretel, I am
" enabled by the viſible and unerring demonſtra-
" tions of Nature to aſſert that Ireland was deſ-
" tined to be an independent Nation. Our Pa-
" tent to be a State and not a Shire comes direct
" from Heaven. The Almighty has in majeſtic
" characters ſigned the grand Charter of our In-
" dependence. The great Creator of the World
" has given unto our beloved Country the gigan-
" tic outlines of a Kingdom and not the pigmy
" features of a Province. God and Nature I ſay
" never intended that Ireland ſhould be a Pro-
" vince, and by G— ſhe never ſhall."—Here

ſtands a reply to the fancied pitiful Governments of ten ſquare Miles throughout Europe.—This writer aſſures us that it would materially ſerve Ireland to be incumbered with the Taxes of England, if there were danger of a Bankruptcy in England; but immediately after he ſays there is not the ſmalleſt danger of ſuch a Bankruptcy. He tells us with a ſmile, that it is a mere fiction of the Imagination—and thus he removes the only cauſe which he himſelf acknowledges would make an additional weight of Taxes a Bleſſing to Ireland: It is idle therefore to recommend an encreaſe of Taxes to Ireland as a ſource of Proſperity, becauſe he tells us that the reaſon which would make them ſuch, is imaginary. Indeed it is not eaſy to demonſtrate how an additional weight of Taxes would contribute to the Proſperity of Ireland. Encreaſed Taxes are injurious not only by wreſting a quantity of Wealth from a Nation's induſtry, and by deſtroying Manufactures in conſequence of the diminiſhed national Capital; but they have alſo a tendency to ſubſtitute idleneſs for induſtry; intrigue, corruption and ſycophancy, for honeſt exertion and fair dealing. By multiplying the objects of Taxation the number of Tax-gatherers will be augmented. Multitudes before employed in uſeful Speculation and Induſtry, will now be obliged to drop the buſineſs of their reſpective calling, from the difficulty of paying the Taxes incident to it (of this we have lately ſeen inſtances in the additional Duty

upon Newſpapers). There is beſides a proſpect now opened of being ſupported by the idle occupation of Revenue collection, and thus is held forth a double inducement to Idleneſs.

Perſons employed in any kind of uſeful induſtry find that "honeſty is the beſt policy." It is to Public Approbation and Confidence they are to look for Encouragement and Profit. This will give a caſt to their moral character. It will make them honeſt, ſober, diligent, generous, and obliging. On this ſubject I appeal to the experience of any man acquainted with Dublin. Is there on any part of the Globe any deſcription of men more eminently diſtinguiſhed for theſe excellent qualities than the Mercantile and induſtrious Claſs of the Citizens of Dublin. But Tax-collectors feel their proſpect of promotion ariſe, not from Public Approbation (their employment is in a channel which reſtrains and injures Public Proſperity); their expectations and reliance are directed to ſome Man of Power and Influence; their morals will therefore receive a complexion from thoſe habits of ſervility and adulation, from that ſmile, and grin, and bow; from that inſincerity which will tell any thing and every thing; and from thoſe merry tales of ſcandal and detraction and falſhood, which may gratify the curioſity, amuſe the leiſure, or feed the vanity of the great Man.

I truſt the people of Ireland will meet an Union with that firmneſs and unanimity which the weight of influence that ſupports it requires, and with that marked reprobation which its principle merits; and that they will never ſurrender their Independence, their Manufactures, their Wealth and their Happineſs, in a manner which would deſtroy them for ever.

FINIS.

A

LETTER

TO

THEOBALD M'KENNA, ESQ.

THE

CATHOLIC ADVOCATE;

IN REPLY

TO THE

CALUMNIES

AGAINST THE

ORANGE INSTITUTION;

CONTAINED IN HIS PAMPHLET PURPORTING TO BE A MEMOIRE ON SOME QUESTIONS RESPECTING THE PROJECTED UNION, &c. &c. &c.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

NEW AND FURTHER CLAIMS

OF THE

CATHOLICS,

AS AFFECTING THE

CONSTITUTION AND PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT.

WITH AN APPENDIX,

CONTAINING SOME ANIMADVERSIONS ON THE POPULAR PAMPHLET ENTITLED, "AN IMPARTIAL VIEW OF THE CAUSES, LEADING THIS COUNTRY TO THE NECESSITY OF AN UNION," &c. &c. &c.

BY AN ORANGEMAN.

Pars Hominum vitiis gaudet constanter, et urget
Propositum:

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR J. MILLIKEN, NO. 32, GRAFTON-STREET.

1799.

ſlander, by ſtating the principles, conduct, and relative ſituation, of the Proteſtants and Catholics in this kingdom; with ſome ſtrictures on the new and unwarrantable pretenſions of the latter. The reader need not ſearch for any underplot or ambiguity—there is none ſuch. I have endeavoured, without aiming at what is called compoſition, to expreſs myſelf in the moſt plain and intelligible language, and that degree of ſerioufneſs, which ſubjects of great national concern demand, though it has lately been the faſhion to treat them with farcical buffoonery, and grinning levity. How far I have ſucceeded, the public will judge.

A LETTER

A LETTER

TO

THEOBALD M'KENNA, Esq. &c.

SIR,

TAKING up a pamphlet bearing your name on its title-page, and purporting to be, A Memoire on the Projected Union, I expected to find that ſubject generally diſcuſſed, and from former proofs of your ability as a writer, I deduced hopes of receiving ſome new lights, on that important queſtion; under this impreſſion, I travelled with you, to your 16th page, not without ſome approbation, and pleaſure, when to my great ſurpriſe, and diſappointment, your real plot opened, and I diſcovered, that the ſcope and tendency of your Memoire, however uſhered in and maſked, under the moſt plauſible introductory pretenſions, was neither more or leſs, than to make a moſt groſs and audacious attack, on the principles, and conduct, of the loyal Proteſtants of Ireland,

land, and in this again, you diſplay an addreſs truly Jeſuitical: You are an avowed Catholic advocate, and it might be expected, that you ſhould reſt their cauſe in ſome degree, on their merits as a body, or their obedience to the laws, their public virtue, their morality, or their loyalty; but no! you wiſely deſert thoſe grounds, as not tenable, and inſtead of defending your own, you boldly attack, what you conſider an enemy's poſition, vainly hoping, by calumniating the Proteſtants, to ſerve and forward the cauſe of the Catholics.

You at once roundly aſſert, that Ireland can never be ſettled by domeſtic means—and why? Becauſe the loyal Proteſtants of Ireland have dared to form aſſociations, for the defence and ſupport of the conſtitution, and their religion, and becauſe they have alſo dared, in defiance of rebellion, and Popery, to wear openly, an Orange ribband, as a badge, or ſymbol, of their aſſociation. Though not an old man, I recollect the time, when a publication ſuch as yours, would have been conſidered a ſpecies of treaſon againſt the conſtitution, and would have ſubjected the writer, to exemplary puniſhment; but now, thanks to the liberality, as it is termed, but in reality to the proffigate apathy of the preſent day, any public concern of morality, virtue, or religion, may be ſafely invaded, and men are only to be rouſed, by trenching on their private and paltry intereſts.

The beſt refutation I can offer, to your falſe and ſcandalous libel, is to tell you, who and what thoſe Orangemen, whom you revile, are, which you may poſſibly not thoroughly know, though I ſuſpect there is much of pretended ignorance, affected terror, and wilful perverſion, among thoſe of your ſect, in regard

to

to the Orange inſtitution. The expoſition of the origin and principles of the Orange aſſociation, will neceſſarily lead me to a diſcuſſion of the principles and views of the Catholics, their merits, and their claims, and the dreadful conſequences, which muſt inevitably enſue, ſhould fate, or our madneſs, ever grant to them full means of obtaining political power; I ſhall afterwards, Sir, advert to ſome of your aſſertions, and poſitions, in ſuch order as they occur; and in ſo doing, I ſhall ſedulouſly avoid any opinion, or diſcuſſion, on the queſtion of the projected Union, and ſolely confine myſelf to remarks, on what you have advanced againſt the Orange ſocieties, and in favour of the Catholics, and their claims.

The name of Orangemen was firſt adopted by ſome Proteſtants in the county of Armagh, at a time when the jealouſies excited by the exerciſe of the portion of political power, newly granted to the Catholics, had unfortunately broke out, in open hoſtility, and mutual outrages, and after the violence of thoſe feuds had ceaſed, Orange aſſociations ſtill continued, and ſpread over many parts of the province of Ulſter. In the year 1797, when the ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen had attained a great degree of maturity, and was every day threatening open rebellion, and when the Catholics, little grateful for paſt favours, demanded new conceſſions, amounting to a ſurrender of the conſtitution, under the fantaſtical name of Catholic emancipation, which ſtood foremoſt among the poſtulata of the rebels, then I ſay, at that dangerous criſis, a plan was formed, and executed, of tranſplanting the Orange aſſociation from the North to the metropolis, and by regulating and improving the ſyſtem, and placing at its head men of higher rank and talent, to convert to the ſupport of the Throne

and

and the Conſtitution, an inſtitution, which from the nature of its origin and formation, might have degenerated into a ferocious ſpirit of perſecution, this plan was the more beneficial and laudable; as any attempt to cruſh the aſſociation, in the place of its origin, would have been highly dangerous and impolitic, and therefore it was wiſe and expedient to direct the motions and progreſs of a machine, which could not, with ſafety, be ſtopped. The detaching the Preſbyterians from the Union, as it was then called, was alſo a ſtrong motive. The publication of the principles of the inſtitution, ſoon became neceſſary, to refute the various falſhoods and calumnies levelled with unceaſing malice againſt the Orangemen. Many enrolled themſelves in the aſſociation, in conſequence of the decided part the Catholics then began openly to take in the impending rebellion, and I am convinced that many perſons were preſerved firm in their allegiance, from the ſupport and example of theſe ſocieties, who, had they not found ſuch a refuge, would have been betrayed by their fears into the ſociety of the Union. I refer to the declaration of the Orange principles, and I do declare as an Orangemen, that in that declaration, the principles of the inſtitution have been fully and wholly ſet forth, without equivocation or reſervation. Now, I ſay, that the Orangemen of Ireland, as at preſent conſtituted, are merely loyal Proteſtants, aſſociated and bound together, under no new or unknown principles, but ſolely for the purpoſe of keeping in memory, ſupporting, and defending the Laws, Conſtitution, and Religion, as eſtabliſhed by the great King William, at the glorious Revolution, and reviving, by a freſh obligation, their ſenſe of a ſolemn and ſacred duty, and their determination, as far as in them lies, to perform that

duty,

duty, namely, that of transmitting unimpaired to their children, that Conſtitution, in Church and State, which they received, as a moſt precious gift, and depoſit, from the hands, and cemented with the blood, of their fathers. It hence follows, that every true and loyal Proteſtant, though he has not formally renewed ſuch his duty, by any freſh obligation, is virtually and morally bound, by the ſame ties and principles, as a ſworn Orangeman. I do aſſert, that the circumſtances of the times called for ſome new ſpur, ſome further teſt, ſome freſh pledge, of mutual aſſiſtance, and of energy in the ſupport, and defence of our laws, our religion, our perſons, and our properties—for there is nothing more certain, than that they are bound in one ſheaf, and ſhould the band once be looſened, all will be ſcattered, trodden under foot, diſſipated and loſt. We were aſſailed at once by the whole hoſt of French principles, their ſpurious liberty, and mock equality, the rights of man, republican fanaticiſm, the rage of political innovation, and the monſtrous union of atheiſm and ſuperſtition, and all theſe had to work on a divided, and diſcontented nation, the majority of which conſidered the Conſtitution and Government as a foreign uſurpation, and the eſtabliſhed Religion an impious and damnable hereſy; but more dangerous than all, many among ourſelves began to be infected by a ſtrange apathy, and luke-warmneſs, towards things formerly conſidered as claiming our warmeſt intereſt and attachment. I hope, and believe, that the Orange inſtitution has given to us an animating and ſeaſonable impulſe, and has tended to rouſe us to a ſenſe of our danger, and our duties, and nothing leads me more ſtrongly to this belief, than the hatred, abuſe, and fear, manifeſted by the people of a cer-

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tain description, against an aſſociation which they ſeem to conſider as a bulwark, interpoſed between them and the temple of the Conſtitution, which they ſeek to enter, for the purpoſe of violating. I do, Sir, moſt poſitively deny your aſſertion, that the Orange body laments that immunities have been granted to the Catholics, or denies them further conceſſions for the purpoſe, or on the principle of ſecuring to themſelves, or enjoying a ſelfiſh pre-eminence over their fellow-ſubjects. On the contrary, the Orangemen have veiwed, with pleaſure, every indulgence granted to the Catholics, whereby they have been rendered more ſecure in their perſons and properties, and the free exerciſe of worſhipping God in any manner they pleaſe; but we deprecate and oppoſe the granting political power to Catholics, who, we are convinced, muſt ever direct that power unceaſingly, and always to the deſtruction and overthrow of our religion, and the eſtabliſhment of their own; and this they never could hope to effect, otherwiſe than by a ſeparation from England, and a total change of the Conſtitution. It is impoſſible that any Catholic could honeſtly and zealouſly adminiſter the affairs of a Proteſtant ſtate—and if we were even content to ſhare every thing with them, and give up all eſtabliſhment and pre-eminence, they would ceaſe to be Catholics, if they did not perſeveringly aim at ſupremacy, and the paramount eſtabliſhment of the Popiſh religion. Catholics could not be content to ſhare equal power with heretics, all civil intereſts muſt be overlooked; the advancement of the holy church, is with them an obligation which muſt take place of all others; and any of the moſt ſacred engagements, if contrary to, or not coinciding with the intereſts of their church, are by that church diſſolved, and declared void.

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If we wiſhed to enter into ſuch a contract with them, it could not be; they are incapable of ſo contracting; they are not free agents; there is no reciprocal tie, pledge, or ſecurity—individuals might be inclined to keep good faith; but there is an abſolute controuling power, which iſſues its mandates, and enforces obedience, wielding Heaven and Hell in either hand. We could not expect ſecurity on the ſcore of gratitude. Their firſt ſucceſs would be aſcribed to God's direct interference in favour of the holy church; it would be conſidered impious, not to improve ſo fortunate a beginning, and us they would look on as dementated, and devoted victims. It may be aſked, on what grounds I reſt my aſſertions? My anſwer is—on the principles, ſacred and political, character, ſpirit, and acts of the Romiſh church, its paſtors and votaries, as handed down to us by hiſtory, from early ages to the preſent time; and thoſe principles, as the Catholic theologiſts themſelves tell us, can never change. Dr. Huſſey, the titular Biſhop of Waterford, tells us, in his paſtoral letter, "that the Catholic faith is ſuitable to all climes, ages, and forms of government—and that it is immutable." The fouleſt atrocities ever yet perpetrated under the directing ſuperſtition of the Romiſh church, in the moſt remote ages, are at this day defended and ſupported by the writings of the Catholic divines, as infallibly juſt and * right—the church

* *As an example, among ſeveral others, I refer to a pamphlet publiſhed in London, in the year* 1795, *printed for Coghlan, Duke-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, by the Rev. John Milner, a Popiſh Prieſt, and entitled,* "*A Reply to the Report publiſhed by the Ciſalpine Club, on the authenticity of the Proteſtation at the Britiſh Muſæum, &c. &c.*

cannot err. Into this abyſs, morality, charity, truth, mercy, and all the virtues are precipitated and loſt. Every vice becomes a virtue, when exerciſed to promote the intereſts of the holy religion. It would be diſguſting to trace this truth through all the horrors, cruelties, plots, and maſſacres, which the page of hiſtory has recorded. I have been told, by ſome of the liberal enlightened men of the day, that they could in every inſtance, aſcribe theſe circumſtances, as they termed them, to political motives, and a train of leading events. Let me tell theſe enlightened philoſophers, that there muſt be ſome pre-diſpoſing cauſe, to rouſe to action each latent and inherent vice or paſſion, whether natural or acquired. The moſt ferocious and paſſionate man may be quiet occaſionally, when not provoked; but ſhould he riſe in rage, and ſlay his brother, you might as well ſay, that it was not owing to his ferocity or paſſion, the accident being aſcribable to the leading event of the deceaſed having trod on the toe of the paſſionate man, which happened to be tender. I do not find any record in hiſtory, of any other ſect, ſave the Catholics, having perſecuted and maſſacred their fellow-chriſtians, to promote the intereſts or tenets of their own particular church; and it is very unfortunate that thoſe leading events have excluſively urged the Catholic to religious maſſacres and cruelties.

The Catholics in different climes, and in different ages, could not poſſibly, as a body, have ſimilar natural propoenſities to cruelty, they are and muſt be, like all other men, good and bad, it therefore follows, that thoſe enormities, muſt be aſcribed to the pernicious and intolerant ſyſtem and doctrines of the Popiſh ſuperſtition. I think I have eſtabliſhed

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my grounds, on the beſt poſſible foundation, proof deduced from facts recorded, and open to the reſearch of every one. That the Romiſh Church has loſt nothing of its principles, character, influence or effect in this kingdom, the horrible tranſactions in Wexford, and indeed in almoſt all the diſturbed counties, during the late rebellion, afford melancholy proofs. The Popedom is overthrown, but the Papal ſpirit ſtill pervades the world, the Papal genius never ſleeps, it is always watchful, enterpriſing, encroaching, and inſatiable, wherever it gains any power, or footing, it never reſts whilſt there is any thing remaining to be had, it muſt have all. It is that encroaching ſpirit we have to dread, and guard againſt. I remember that a few years ago, the Catholics of this kingdom declared, they would be fully ſatisfied by the grant of certain privileges, and obtaining thoſe, they would never aſk further, they have ſince obtained all and more than they then required, and now they advance new claims. So would it be ad infinitum, until all power were excluſively their own. It has always been a principle of the Romiſh Church, not to be ſcrupulous about the means, provided the end was the advancement of the holy religion; a ſtrict adherence to this practice has been ſtrongly exemplified by the Iriſh Catholics, who firſt leagued themſelves with the Preſbyterians, a ſect of Proteſtants, whom they always have deteſted more than thoſe of the eſtabliſhed Church, and then called into their aid the atheiſtical legions of France; the overthrow of a bad government, reform and republicaniſm, were then the avowed objects of this heterogeneous confederacy; but it is well known, that an underplot was formed by the Catholics, who being the majority, hoped, when the government was extinguiſhed, that they the rightful inheritors ſhould repoſſeſs

repoſſeſs the uſurped lands, and that they ſhould be able to reſtore their old and holy religion to its ancient ſupremacy. I think the Proteſtants of Ireland having theſe records, and this experience before them, muſt be ſtrangely infatuated indeed, ſhould they heſitate a moment to refuſe a participation of power to the Catholics, who would, as I have ſhewn, uſe that power to the ſubverſion of our Conſtitution and eſtabliſhment. And for theſe reaſons, and not from the motives which you, Sir, have been pleaſed to aſcribe to us, do the Orangemen of Ireland oppoſe the grant of further immunities to the Catholics. I do lament it as a great misfortune, that the State cannot with ſafety to its exiſtence, command and profit by the entire attachment, energy, and ſervices of ſo many of its ſubjects; would to God it were otherwiſe! every individual in the kingdom would then gain additional ſecurity to his rights and property, Ireland would become a nation, and the empire would be ſtrengthened. If any men or body of men ſhould from low or ſelfiſh views, oppoſe ſo great a general good, I ſhould be the firſt to pronounce them enemies to their own intereſts, and thoſe of their country.

But circumſtanced as things now are, and indeed until ſome great change ſhall happen, every true Proteſtant in both kingdoms is bound on the principle of ſelf-preſervation, as well as duty, to reſiſt further grants to the Catholics. The all-directing Providence may, in his own good time, cauſe theſe things to ceaſe, and may allow us to become brothers, and one people. As yet the proſpect is hid from us, certainly for wiſe purpoſes; but God has, within the laſt few years, ordained great changes in the world, and he has the power of effecting greater. We are told, that we ſhall all yet be members of one and the

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ſame pure and holy religion, it would be preſumptuous to gueſs what that ſyſtem may be, revelation and a chain of events correſponding to that revelation, almoſt clearly indicate, that it cannot be the Romiſh; nor do I at all ſuppoſe, that our Reformed Church has yet reached ſuch a degree of perfection, as to become the ſtandard. But whatever it may be, coming from him, it muſt be right and good; and he may exalt the moſt humble, and put down the proud. Thus far, I have endeavoured to ſtate with as much fairneſs and truth as poſſible, the relative ſituation and principles of the Proteſtants and Catholics in this unhappy country, and I moſt ſolemnly declare that in doing this, I have not been actuated by animoſity, or ill will. I did conceive myſelf bound to refute a moſt audacious calumny aimed at the Orangemen of Ireland. The defence and ſupport of my own principle, and thoſe of my brethren, againſt malicious miſrepreſentation, required that I ſhould not heſitate to ſpeak truths, which pained me in the writing, and always have pained me, when my thoughts have reſted on them. But when every thing dear to us is at ſtake, a cautious delicacy would be weak and criminal. I do conſider my Catholic countrymen, as by nature endued with the ſame feelings, virtues, and paſſions, as we are, and I do proudly think that the natives of this Iſle in general, are not in natural endowments, inferior to any nation in the world; but I do lament that ſo many of my fellow-ſubjects have been ſo long enſlaved by the tyranny of a ſuperſtition, which had unfortunately too many collateral aids, which it has made uſe of to continue the diviſion and ſeparation of a people, whoſe mutual intereſts ought long ago to have made them one. I lament this moſt ſincerely, and I do ſay to the Catholic body of Ireland in general, that the

the attainment of the conceſſions which you ſeem ſo eagerly to ſeek, would in all probability prove to be the greateſt evil which could befall you, it would ruin us, yourſelves, and our country; your prieſts and bigots would never give peace to you, or us; their reſtleſſneſs, ſuperſtition, and ambition, would always embark you in new enterprizes, until Great Britain would be obliged to conquer this iſland again, or ſubmit to its ſeparation from the empire: without the intervention of foreign aid, the conteſt could not be long doubtful, and ſhould even a ſeparation for a time, be effected by ſtrong foreign aſſiſtance, it could not be continued but by giving an eſtabliſhment to your ally, which muſt end in your ſubjugation; in either caſe, Ireland would become the ſcene of bloody and deſtructive wars, and exhauſted, waſted, and defolated, would prove a barren compenſation to the victors. Humanity ſhudders at ſuch a frighful proſpect.

And now, Sir, ſuffer me to advert to ſome paſſages of your Memoire as you are pleaſed to term it, really if you had not given it a name, I ſhould have been much at a loſs how to refer it; I ſhould have claſſed it among the non-deſcripts. You diſcover to us pretty clearly in your 15th and 16th pages, that the Catholics would conſider it as a grievance left unredreſſed, and that the plan of the Union could not be complete, without the admiſſion of the Catholics to full political power and privileges, and conſequently to ſeats in the Imperial Legiſlature, this though not expreſſed in direct words, is ſtrongly inſinuated, but all doubt of your meaning is removed by ſubſequent parts of your Memoire, particularly in your 35th page. On the firſt reading, the audacity of the pretenſions aſtoniſhed me, as much as the

the Jeſuitical ſlyneſs under which it is introduced, provoked me.

I always did feel it as the ſtrongeſt inducement and argument in favour of an Union—that thereby, the Proteſtant intereſt would be conſolidated, and our eſtabliſhment ſecured from encroachment, and that the Catholics of Ireland would neceſſarily ſit down in acquieſcence, the object of their wiſhes being placed beyond their reach; but it ſeems I had yet a leſſon to learn, and farther experience to gain, of the inſatiability, perſeveranee and encroachment of the Papal ſect and genius.

Some of the beſt and wiſeſt men of England have of late expreſſed in their ſpeeches and writing, apprehenſions of the plots and reſtleſs ſpirit of Popery, even in regard to England, where its power and influence is comparatively ſmall; this new aim at encroachment, proves that their fears have not been vain, it alſo ſhews a co-operation between the Engliſh and Iriſh Catholics; and ſuch diſcoveries may rouſe the common ſenſe of both countries.

From your 19th page I tranſcribe this ſentence:—"*The Government in combination with a part of the people, may, ſo far as phyſicical force confers authority, impoſe reſtrictions on the Catholics; but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children.*" This is the moſt laboured and pompous ſcrap of nonſenſe I have ever met with. I will conſtrue this curious morceau, and illuſtrate its blundering abſurdity. Government you ſay, combined with a part of the people, the minority, meaning the Proteſtants—form the phyſical force of the country—and may, ſo far as that phyſical force confers authority, impoſe reſtrictions on the

Catholics, the majority—who by your antitheſis, muſt neceſſarily be conſidered, as forming the artificial force of the country—but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children. I need ſcarce point out to any reader, that a minority governing a country muſt be termed an artificial force—and that numbers conſtitute *phyſical* or *natural* force—And this from the learned Catholic advocate, Mr. M'Kenna. Pray, Sir, was your underſtanding loſt in your religious zeal—or bewildered in the labyrinth of your own ſubtlety? or did you wiſh, by ſimulating a confuſion of ideas, to prevent any miſtake, as to your being legitimately an Iriſhman? But let me reſcue this paſſage from the confuſion which envelopes it, and give to it the only meaning to which it can be reconciled—it is a ſort of oracular prediction, and it would be a pity to have it miſunderſtood or loſt—

> Talibus ex ady to dictis Cumæa Sibylla,
> Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit
> Obſcuris vera involvens.

Let me interpret it thus: Government and the Proteſtants may, for a time, oppreſs and reſtrict the Catholics; but they will not acquieſce; they will be always ready on every opportunity to rebel againſt an uſurping and unnatural Government, and to aſſert their ſuperiority in this kingdom, which they claim from God and Nature. Analogy may ſerve to explain further. Biſhop Huſſey, in his Paſtoral letter, page 10, ſays, "*The vaſt rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever oppoſes its deſcent and removal, muſt be cruſhed by his own raſh endeavours.*" If my explanation of the ſentence extracted from your Memoire, is right, I will leave it to the reader whether moſt to admire at the abſurdity

dity of the compoſition, or the wickedneſs of the ſentiment.

In a note to your 20th page, you ſay, "*What numbers during the late diſturbances, would not believe the evidence of their ſenſes, that every Papiſt was not a rebel! How many were ſadly chagrined at the propriety with which the perſons of property of the Romiſh communion acted!*" To this I anſwer, that the rebellion having very ſoon after its commencement, aſſumed the appearance of an holy inſurrection, and being even ſo termed in one of the French Councils—and ſo many cruelties being committed by Catholics on Proteſtants—it is not wonderful, that generally every Papiſt ſhould be ſuſpected; and this ſuſpicion was further encreaſed, by numberleſs inſtances of detected treachery among thoſe Catholics who were in the military ranks—I ſay generally, becauſe I ſhould be ſorry to think that there are not individuals of that communion, who have, from a ſenſe of honour, adhered to their allegiance and duty, as yeomen and ſoldiers—and where ſo likely to find ſuch, as among the higher ranks.

In your 23d page you ſay, "*That the penalties againſt Catholics ought to be repealed, if it were only to diſcountenance the Orange faction, by ſhewing the error and impotence of the aſſociation. The meaſure would be popular, and acceptable.*" Are you ſerious, Mr. M'Kenna, in recommending to any Adminiſtration, ſo great an innovation, to call it no more, merely for the ſake of a fretful and peeviſh experiment—to ſee how the Orangemen would look, when diſcountenanced. Surely you either conſider the men in power, as fools, or you mean to inſult them. The meaſure of emancipation would, in your opini-

on, be popular and acceptable; so would the eſtabliſhment of Popery in Ireland, in all its antient tyranny, becauſe the Catholics are the populace, and to them it would be acceptable. Doctor M'Nevin and others have ſaid, that Catholic emancipation, as it was called, was not an object really and ſeriouſly ſought after. I think you and the Doctor are both right; and thus I reconcile the ſeeming contradiction. I do believe, that the Catholics who were engaged in the rebellious confederacy, before the inſurrection actually took place, were very indifferent as to any conceſſions which could be made to them by a Proteſtant Parliament. They hoped ſoon to be maſters of all, by a ſhort and leſs incumbered mode—they expected to eſtabliſh themſelves on the ruins of our Government, Conſtitution, and Religion. They have been vanquiſhed, and diſappointed, and they would now gladly accept from us, that participation of political power, which they before diſdained, and that merely for the purpoſe of making the next effort with increaſed ſtrength, and under better auſpices. Like wiſe Generals failing in the ſtorm of the citadel, they wiſh to make a lodgment in the body of the work, and there cover themſelves, waiting the opportunity of another aſſault.

In your 24th page you ſay, "*If every Catholic in Ireland had been a rebel, it ought to make no difference.*"

And again: "*If even ſuch were the caſe, the moment of victory would be the critical time to make the conceſſion. What might in the laſt year have been injudicious, as liable to be repreſented a puſillanimous compromiſe, might at this day be compliment, and heroic ſacrifice.*" Bravo, Sir! moſt excellent and high-ſounding

founding rhodomantide! You ſhift your ground, and change your mode of attack, with admirable dexterity. You are a very Proteus; you aſſume every form.

Dr. Huſſey and you have menaced and frightened us with rocks and mountains, with dungeons, and phyſical force. Forgetting, or pretending to forget, that the civil and religious code was introduced by the great William, moulded and blended together, forming one indiviſible eſtabliſhment in Church and State; you have dared to ridicule this Conſtitution, and by ſplitting its founder in two, you affect to praiſe one ſide of the heroes mutilated image, that you may defame and vilify the other, by comparing it to John Weſley, or any other fanatic—you have endeavoured to divide the Proteſtants, by rouſing thoſe who are not Orangemen, againſt thoſe who are—and you call upon the former, to make conceſſions to the Catholics, to ſpite the latter—You now cajole us, and try to perſuade us, that having fought for our Conſtitution and Religion, and having conquered, that it would be magnanimous in the conquerors to ſurrender to the conquered—and having proved our courage, to give up all pretenſions to ſanity or common ſenſe. It ſhews not ſtrength of intellect, to undervalue too much that of others. Did you, Sir, imagine you were addreſſing fools or Quixottes; and on this ground you declare you are at iſſue with the Orangemen—I think the verdict ought to be *non compos*.

Your addreſs to the Orangemen in the next page, about eſpionage, is too vague in its application to be underſtood, and too contemptible to be anſwered. I ſuppoſe the word was introduced, to ſhew your travel,

travel, and foreign education—by the bye, I have always underſtood, that ſuch education as our countrymen uſually receive in the Jeſuit Colleges abroad, peculiarly qualifies them to become adepts in the ſyſtem of eſpionage.

You next labour to prove that the Catholics, as ſuch, had not any thing to do with the rebellion—and that the Catholic rebels were combated by Catholic militia regiments, Catholic noblemen, gentlemen, farmers, &c. It is painful and unpleaſant to be under the neceſſity of renewing paſt grievances; but as you have provoked and challenged the detail, I muſt not flinch from it. In my turn I ſay, Sir, on this ground, I am at iſſue with you—As to the Catholic militia ſoldiers, many, I am proud and happy to acknowledge, did their duty like brave men; the conduct of the Limerick regiment ſtands particularly conſpicuous. Some regiments have afforded ſhameful and melancholy inſtances to the contrary. It is a delicate point—I do not wiſh to inſiſt on it—I will only obſerve, that ſoldiers taken from their families, removed from their early obſervances and habits, and placed in a mixed ſociety of ſtrangers, under a ſtrict ſyſtem of ſubordination and obedience, muſt ſoon forget their local and religious prejudices; and the latter ſooner, perhaps, than any other. I have often heard old officers ſay, that the Iriſh Catholics became the better ſoldiers, the further and the longer they were removed from home. I am ſure, had not uncommon pains been taken to miſlead them, that all the Iriſh militia regiments would have done their duty, with fidelity and bravery. We can better form an opinion of the part the Catholics took in the late rebellion, by recurring to the conduct of the Catholic yeomen—men better educated, and of better

ſituation

ſituation than the militia ſoldiers—men who were or ought to have been free agents, who took up voluntarily the arms of their Sovereign (a Sovereign whom they had recently and publicly acknowledged as their greateſt benefactor), and who bound themſelves by a voluntary and ſolemn oath, to uſe thoſe arms in his defence, and that of his Government. How they fulfilled that obligation, is lamentable to conſider—what a diſguſting picture of perfidy and perjury was diſcloſed, ſhortly after the inſurrection took place! I ſpeak of the city of Dublin—it was diſcovered that nine-tenths of the Catholics in the yeomanry corps, were United Iriſhmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their ſworn allegiance—and that many of them, after taking the United oath, had, on a principle of diliberate and pre-determined perjury, joined yeomanry corps, for the purpoſe of getting arms into their hands, learning the uſe of them, and turning them againſt us, perhaps in the very moment of attack. The conſequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely diſcovery. If any of the projected nightly attacks had taken place, the loyal yeoman, rouſed from his bed, would have treacherouſly fallen by the bayonets of thoſe whom he might haſten to join, as friends and fellow-ſoldiers. It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin above two thouſand Catholics were deſirous of admittance into the ſeveral yeomanry corps, during the ſix weeks immediately preceding the inſurrection—and that moſt of theſe were propoſed by Catholic yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels, or were diſarmed on ſtrong ſuſpicion.

Theſe facts are notorious, and recent; they are open to inveſtigation, and if not founded, may be diſproved.

diſproved. Of the Catholic yeomen in the country, I can only ſpeak by hearſay—report has not been generally more favourable to them, than to their brethren in the city. Can any man hesitate to what he ſhould aſcribe ſuch ſhocking violation of faith and morality? You, Sir, have acknowledged that there were twenty-five Prieſts actually and openly leaders of the rebels—pretty well this—and of the formidable remainder, conſiſting, by your calculation, of two thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-five—how many fomented and encouraged the rebellion ſecretly? and were, as Dr. M'Neven and others of the principal traitors declared, moſt active agents in forwarding the cauſe. I do conceive, that the circumſtance of ſo many as twenty-five Prieſts acting openly as leaders of the rebels—conſidering the character, habits of life, and education of Romiſh Prieſts—forms a ſtrong proof of the warm intereſt their body at large took in the rebellion. As to individual noblemen and gentlemen, a ſenſe of honour might keep them true to their engagements. As I before have mentioned, ſuch men muſt be averſe to treachery in the field; but had matters taken a more decided turn, it would have been hard to expect even from them more than neutrality.

In your 29th page you make your Catholic claimant ſay, "*That he does not deſire the aggrandizement of his fellow-religioniſts, as a body; but that there ſhould not be any obſtacle in the way of any individual of that communion, to puſh to the utmoſt extent they are capable, the advantages of birth and fortune, talents and induſtry.*" And in your next page—"*So far as my obſervation extends, the reflecting Catholics in this country, never entertained a wiſh to give an eſtabliſhment to their clergy.*" I think my detail of the character and principles of the Romiſh

neighbourh, and its votaries, shews that it is impossible that Catholics could be down contented with civil advantages alone, neglecting the advancement of their clergy, and the aggrandizement of their religion. I shall here observe, that in a commercial country like this, property must be always shifting; and that in the course of time, particularly if aided by high lucrative situations, the balance of property, as well as numbers, would be found in the hands of Catholics, who would then consequently have a preponderance in the Legislative Bodies. Under these circumstances, I should be sorry that the Protestant establishment should be at the mercy of Catholic sufferance and moderation. This will also serve as an answer to the reasoning in your 35th page, about population and property.*

The poetic picture presented in the note to your 31st page, is certainly more to be remarked for the correctness and truth of its delineation, as an historic piece, than for the pleasing choice of the subject, or the delicacy of the colouring. Some things and persons, when faithfully represented, become disgusting caricatures.

Your 32d page goes to tell us, "*That Catholics are men constituted as we are, and that forbearance under any restrictions, is not to be expected from them.*" This argument comes red hot from the school of the

* *Mr. M'Kenna says, that the pillars of the establish church are, the connexion with Britain, and the balance of property. I have here and elsewhere in this work, shewn that by granting to the Catholics full political power, both these pillars would be undermined, and the whole fabric of the Constitution overthrown.*

new philoſphy, and the rights of man. You launch boldly into innovation, forgetting all the former ties, rules, and reſtrictions of every civiliſed country in Europe. Pray, Sir, in what Catholic ſtate of Europe, does a Proteſtant enjoy half the privileges, which a Catholic now enjoys in the Proteſtant ſtate of Ireland? Certainly in none. Or in what Proteſtant ſtate of Europe, does a Catholic enjoy ſo many immunities as in Ireland: And where, I may add, have conceſſions met with ſo ungrateful a return.

We may clearly infer from your 35th and 36th pages, that the Catholics, on the event of an Union, lay the ſame claim to admiſſion into the imperial, as they now do into the Iriſh Legiſlature; and in the advancement of ſuch their claims, you without heſitation get over all difficulties, by bold and unqualified aſſertions, unſupported by argument, and in contradiction to principles long eſtabliſhed. "*You deny that any new Parliamentary teſt oath ſhould be framed, to admit the juriſdiction of the Pope.*" And you as lightly get over the omiſſion of the oath of ſupremacy; ſuch an oath being totally unneceſſary. "*As the juriſdiction of the Pope is as clearly aſcertained as the juriſdiction of the Court of King's Bench, and would not be let in on temporal points, by omitting the oaths which aſſert the King's Eccleſiaſtical ſupremacy,*" &c. This is a moſt extraordinary aſſertion, and is contradicted by experience, and hiſtory, which ſhews, that in all countries, and during all ages, Popery has never failed, wherever it got footing, to intermeddle with, and embroil every thing temporal as well as ſpiritual, on one pretence or other; and the hiſtory of England, in particular, proves this in the ſtrongeſt manner, even to the dethronement of her Kings.

How

How can any man presume to say, that the Popish jurisdiction is as well ascertained, as that of the Court of King's Bench, when every one knows that it requires but little sophistry to implicate almost all temporal with spiritual concerns, as ultimately, directly or indirectly involving the spiritual salvation of the actors: and who is to be the judge of this spiritual salvation and temporal discrimination? That very church, whose interest and character it is, to draw every thing within the vortex of its own dominion, and to use every handle and pretext for interference and domination. The Romish clergy may squabble among themselves, but should any laymen, or lay body interfere, the whole hive forgetting their internal disputes, would fasten on them, and sting them to death. But could even the inexpediency and impolicy of such concessions, as affecting the Protestant interest, be palliated or got over, the impracticability of such a measure remains, and must remain for ever, insurmountable, and unalterable, at least so long as Popery and the British Constitution shall continue. I do maintain that a Catholic cannot be admitted into the Irish or English Legislative Bodies, but by a violation of the Constitution, as established in 1788, in its very essence, and foundation, and by a breach of the King's coronation oath, and also of the fundamental articles of the union between Scotland and England. Is it possible, that a King of Great Britain could be so blind to the danger to which he would expose the Constitution he had sworn to protect, as to assent to such an innovation, not calling it by a stronger name? Or could he conscientiously think, that he acted according to the obligation of his coronation oath, by knowingly and deliberately exposing the Protestant establishment to the risque of so desperate an experiment? Religi-

ous eſtabliſhment, is not the religion itſelf, but merely the mode of preſerving it, and that can only be effected, by a political connection of the religious with the civil eſtabliſhment, and this forms, what is called the Conſtitution in Church and State —I do again aſſert, that ſuch our Conſtitution cannot admit to its Legiſlative, Adminiſtrative, or Executive functions, any man, or body of men, who deny and violate one of its vital and fundamental principles, by cheriſhing a foreign ſupremacy, and paying an implicit obedience to it, either in ſpiritual or temporals. And I do here contend, that this fundamental principle of the Britiſh Conſtitution, has been eſtabliſhed on the ſureſt and moſt unerring grounds, namely the conviction of the many evils attending foreign ſpiritual interference, derived and deduced from the experience of many centuries. Were we now to ſeparate Church and State, we would virtually declare, that the reformation and revolution were founded on bad policy, and falſe principles, and that the ſettlement of the Crown by ſtat. 12th and 13th W. 3d. c. 2. was an illegal uſurpation. I hope and truſt, that no Miniſter will ever be found hardy enough to bring forward ſuch a queſtion, in a Proteſtant Parliament, or ſo daring as to adviſe a King of Great Britain to give his conſent to the annihilation of the title, by which he holds his Crown.

To enter into a full hiſtorical and legal diſcuſſion of theſe queſtions, would far exceed my limits. Let me aſk Mr. M'Kenna, and the Catholics, on what grounds they expect all theſe experiments and ſacrifices in their favour? Is it becauſe they have ſo well requited us for paſt benefits? Do they advance their claims on the ſcore of their loyalty to their King, or

or their brotherly love and charity to their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects? Or do they come forward ſmeared with the blood of the Kildare, Carlow, Mayo and Wexford Proteſtants, and brandiſhing their pikes, to terrify us into conceſſion. I cannot help ſaying, that there is a hardened and indecent aſſurance, in the time and form of their demands. What the heart of man could ſcarcely imagine, in the moſt peaceful and praiſeworthy times, is now uſhered in, with unbluſhing impudence, at the heels of rebellion and maſſacre. For ſhame! you ought to have ſat down rebuked, chaſtened, and grateful, for the magnanimous moderation of your victors. Inſtead of new favours and conceſſions, it might have been expected, at the eve of the late atrocious rebellion, that all former ones ſhould have been revoked and reſcinded, and that the Popiſh ſuperſtitution ſhould have been at once rooted from the land, by the baniſhment of its Prieſts, and the forbiddance of the Maſs, as incompatible with true Chriſtian charity, morality, and a juſt obſervance of the laws of ſociety in a Proteſtant State. Could ſuch an event take place, without perſonal cruelty, bloodſhed, or civil diſturbance, I do not heſitate to ſay, that the Catholics of Ireland, would ultimately be greater gainers by the change, than even the Proteſtants.

I will conclude by warning the Government againſt a practice, which has been too common among the parties of this country, namely that of treating and parleying with the Catholics, as a political body, and making ſtalking-horſes of them, and their claims, for the purpoſes of mutual embarraſſment and vexation. This weak and wicked policy feeds, and has fed, unjuſtifiable pretenſions. This has been a ſort of game; but "*hæ nugæ ſeria ducant in mala.*" It is

is not wiſe to ſeek hollow, unreal, and fugitive connexions, in purſuance of a ſyſtem of Machiavelian policy, thereby diſguſting and detaching thoſe whom reciprocity, congenial intereſts, and common ſenſe, indicate as the true friends of a good Government, the friends and ſupporters of the Throne, the Conſtitution, and the Laws.—May they be perpetual.

AN ORANGEMAN.

Dublin, January 14, 1799.

AN APPENDIX.

AN

APPENDIX.

SINCE writing the foregoing letter, I have read a pamphlet on the queſtion of Union, wherein Catholics and Orangemen are introduced. Had I ſooner ſeen this production, I ſhould have given it ſome notice in the body of my work; but I muſt now confine myſelf to ſuch few remarks, as time, and the limits of a ſhort Appendix, will admit.

The pamphlet I allude to, is entitled, "*An impartial view of the cauſes leading this country to the neceſſity of an Union,*" &c. &c. &c. and is publicly aſcribed to a gentleman, whoſe name, though mutilated of its barbarous *O*, is ſtill ſufficiently indicative of Aboriginiſm, and Catholiciſm. This circumſtance may ſtrike many as not favouring the promiſe of impartiality, avowed in the title-page; but let us examine how this promiſe has been kept. This gentleman gives us an hiſtory, or hiſtoric ſketch, of Engliſh and Iriſh relation, from the reformation to the preſent time; if that can be called an hiſtory, which details the injuſtice, oppreſſion, and tyranny of the Engliſh over the unfortunate natives, without fairly ſtating the circumſtances, and neceſſity,

neceſſity, which obliged England to maintain, by ſtrong and coercive meaſures, her dominion over a ſavage and hoſtile nation, which had always diſplayed an inveterate diſlike to the Engliſh, their laws, manners, and cuſtoms, and which had renewed, whetted, and increaſed all its antient antipathies, by ſuperadded hatred and averſion to the religion then newly introduced among them, and by an obſtinate adherence to the Popiſh ſuperſtition. This gentleman ſeems to forget, that ſince England has had ſufficient reſpite from her own evils and diſturbances, to attend to the ſettlement of Ireland, that all her endeavours, and thoſe of the Proteſtant ſettlers, have been counteracted, baffled, and checked by the growth and influence of Popery, which has been the real obſtacle to the peace and proſperity of their country. So much for hiſtoric impartiality.

This O gentleman dates the Orange inſtitution ſo far back, as the year 1793. He ſays it was founded by ſome of the factious and diſappointed ariſtocracy —and that it produced the late rebellion. I do moſt poſitively deny the truth of every one of theſe ſtatements. I have in this work already ſhewn that an aſſociation of ſome of the middle and lower orders of the people, in the county of Armagh, firſt aſſumed the name of Orangemen, about the year 1794; but Orange ſocieties never became ſo general, as to be worthy of political conſideration, until the year 1797, (the real date of the Orange inſtitution) when they were tranſplanted to Dublin, and when the rebellion, which he ſays they produced, was arrayed, and had even appointed a day for ruſhing into action. This gentleman has attempted to prove this charge againſt the Orangemen, by ſaying that the Catholics only rebelled in counties where

where they were *intimidated* into rebellion by Orangemen. I will ask him, were there Orange ſocieties to intimidate the Catholics of Mayo and Wexford into rebellion and maſſacre? Were there Orangemen to any intimidating amount in Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare and Kilkenny? But this gentleman, by way of clinching his proof, with triumphant exultation, quotes and reſts upon the counties of Limerick, Clare, and Galway, as patterns and examples of Catholic loyalty. Unfortunately his exultation has been ſhort lived indeed—his ink has had ſcarce time to dry on the paper, ere his proofs and their loyalty have vaniſhed, and the ſtandard of rebellion has been ſeen to float over the face of thoſe *peaceable* counties.

In contradiction to his aſſertion, that the Orange inſtitution has grown out of factious and diſappointed ariſtocracy—I do ſay, that there never yet has been any political inſtitution, ſo completely independent, ſo purely diſintereſted, ſo ſingle in its object, and ſo free from factious or ariſtocratic influence, as the Orange aſſociation; I am an Orangeman, I know that it muſt be ſo—no man can become an Orangeman, from impure motives, without perjury. As to this gentleman's ſtatement of Catholics lawfully proſecuting lawful claims, of Catholic firmneſs, ſteady attachment to the Conſtitution, and loyalty, I will only obſerve, that ſuch a fiction would better become a poet than an hiſtorian.

I cannot help adding, that it is remarkable how ſeldom apoſtacy from Popery extinguiſhes hereditary affection to the cauſe.

I do also deny, that the oaths taken by United Irishmen and Orangemen, are equally unlawful, under the construction of the statutes—as the matters to which Orangemen are bound, form no part of the gravamen, against which those laws provided, nor could have been in the contemplation of the Legislature, whose only object was to guard against and suppress seditious conspiracies, then existing. The comprehensive penning of the statute of 37th of G. 3d. was occasioned by the dexterity shewn by the conspirators in eluding the former statute—which clearly appears by collating the two acts. Wherefore I conceive that a Judge of the land, before whom any man should be tried for taking the Orangeman's oath, would leave it to the Jury to determine, not only as to the fact of his having taken such oath, but also as to the tendency thereof, and the *quo animo*, of the swearing—all which ingredients are necessary to constitute crime. I believe no Jury could be found, hardy enough to bring in a verdict of conviction against any man, on the ground of the Orangeman's oath, which goes solely to the support of the King and our glorious Constitution, and that in the most direct terms—and thus, Sir, if I am right, your appeal to the twelve Judges, proves to be a solemn and pompous nullity—if conviction took place, the Judge must pronounce the sentence of the law; but I conceive, that such a conviction could not happen, except, indeed, from a packed Jury of United Irishmen, and even they might be deterred by the dread of an attaint.

You ought, Sir, to have been more cautious, and have chosen sure grounds, before you ventured to prefer so serious an accusation against Legislators, whom you have presumed to represent, as publicly administering

administering oaths, in direct violation of a statute made by themselves; and for the breach of which, they were publicly co-operating "*in hanging and whipping wretches*"—and this crude opinion you publish and proclaim to the people of this agitated country, and tell them, that it causes a dissolution of all government. I do suppose that party and Catholic zeal against the Orangemen, blinded you to all the consequences of such a publication, which even truth could not excuse or justify, under the present circumstances. The Press, in its zenith of licentious audacity, never vomited forth a more dangerous or deadly political poison.

Were I not confined in time and limits, I should animadvert on other parts of this pamphlet, which, notwithstanding its partialities and misrepresentations, on the points I have noticed, its affectation of intimate acquaintance with Cabinets, and its familiar exposition of public and leading characters, certainly shews considerable ingenuity, wit, and satire, and contains many forcible arguments in favour of an Union, conveyed in a pleasing, familiar, and impressive stile.

Dublin, January 22, 1799.

FINIS.

A

REPLY

TO THE

MEMOIRE

OF

THEOBALD Mc.KENNA, Esq.

On some Questions touching the

PROJECTED UNION

OF

GREAT-BRITAIN AND IRELAND.

By MOLYNEUX. Sir

——— " Thou'rt no more!
——— " Thy Land of Liberty!
" Thy House of Heroes, and thy Seat of Virtues,
" Is now the Tomb where thy brave Sons lie speechless,
" And foreign Snakes engender!"

GUSTAVUS VASA.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY E. FITZPATRICK, NO. 2, UPPER ORMOND-QUAY.

1799.

TO THE PEOPLE OF IRELAND.

FRIENDS AND COUNTRYMEN,

I NATURALLY inſcribe this Eſſay to you, for whoſe advantage it was written: Could I awake my countrymen from the fatal delirium and torpor that renders them ſo indifferent to their intereſt, and perſuade them of the high importance of the ſubject on which I now addreſs them, my object would be fully compleated.—A ſubject of greater importance, I will be bold to ſay, was never diſcuſſed, than that of an Union with Britain; for ſhould it in the end prove detrimental to Ireland, it never can be revoked, altho' jealouſies, miſconceptions, and colliſions of a mercantile nature, may occur—it is Great-Britain that will decide—you may reſt aſſured, in her own favour; nor can you blame her for it, for you *yourſelves* will have weakly acquieſced to be united to her FOR EVER —" for better or for worſe." If an Union, my friends, was advantageous to Scotland, why were her Peers and Commiſſioners, &c. purchaſed *for gold?* If an Union, as we are *told*, is *ſo very advantageous* to Ireland, why why did not the *ſagacity* of a Pitt diſcover it ten years ago? If beneficial to poor Ireland, why ſhould the people have been hitherto ſo averſe to it? If advantageous, why have the *real friends* to Ireland ever ſupported her independence, and invariably oppoſed violations of her Conſtitution, *leſs*—VERY FAR LESS injuri-

ous to her intereſt, than an Union? Let the advocates for taxation reply, for they are well acquainted with the *reaſons* for an union of Legiſlatures; but I muſt confeſs, I cannot—never will ſuppoſe that the Iriſh Parliament, who ſo ſpiritedly and ſtrenuouſly ſupported the Conſtitution—who in 1795, ſuſpended the Habeas Corpus Act—who in the ſame year paſſed the Convention Bill, the Indemnity Act, and the Inſurrection Bill—who appointed Secret Committees in 1797 and 1798, and who in the latter year continued the Inſurrection Act!—that Parliament who ſupported the Conſtitution, and puniſhed with death thoſe who attempted to ſubvert it—I never can admit that the Parliament of Ireland are about to deſtroy that Conſtitution, by an union of Legiſlatures! But ſhould my ſpeculations prove erroneous, as an Iriſhman I addreſs myſelf to Iriſh freemen, for the laſt time, perhaps, to warn them of their danger—for the laſt time *certainly, as a freeman*, ſhould an Union take place—Ireland then for ever ſets, in the Weſt, "to riſe no more!!!"

MOLYNEUX.

A REPLY,

&c. &c.

A MEMOIRE, with the Author's name annexed, having been publiſhed, is a ſufficient juſtification of this Addreſs. But I muſt here premiſe, that the following Eſſay is intended only to anſwer *that part* of the "*Memoire reſpecting the "projected Union,*" where that pamphlet has a reference to the Union. I have read productions of that writer with great pleaſure, in favour of a numerous deſcription of my countrymen—the Catholics of Ireland; to which body, if I do not miſtake, the author of the "Memoire" belongs. With what regret, then, did I read a work, ſanctioning a meaſure ſo injurious to Ireland, as an Union—an overthrow of the Iriſh conſtitution! One who had ſo ably, and ſo ſucceſsfully diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the proud career, of ſupporting three-fourths of the people of Ireland, againſt penal laws, now ſallies forth to overthrow the liberties of *all* the people of Ireland, and becomes ſuddenly the champion of a junto, he had ſo ably and ſo honourably oppoſed!—I reflect with regret, that infallibility is not the lot of mankind—that changeableneſs is not the partial characteriſtic of any particular ſoil, nor apoſtacy confined to any allotted portion of the globe--that France had a Raynal, a Mirabeau—England, a Pitt—and Ireland, a Burke.

You

You will do me, Sir, the juſtice to believe that, throughout this Reply, I do not mean any diſreſpect, nor I hope, written any thing that can give you for a moment an unpleaſing reflection; one ſole motive actuates me throughout the whole—my love and partiality for my native country—to endeavour to repreſent the pernicious effects, the almoſt incalculable miſchief, that would reſult to this country from an incorporation of legiſlatures!—theſe are the conſiderations that have dragged me once more reluctantly on the political ſtage. I may receive the diſapprobation of many, but I hope not from the real friends to my country. At all events, my exit will be accompanied with the pleaſing reflection, that my efforts were intended for the beſt.

No one can lament more than I do, "our diſ-"ſenſions and our calamities;" but I cannot ſee how this ſhould call forth for an Union, which you mean, I preſume, by "a final arrangement "of the politics of this iſland." It does not appear, that an Union would terminate thoſe diſſenſions and calamities, but have a contrary effect, and tend to alienate, in a moſt alarming degree, the affections of the people of this country from its connection with Great-Britain. It is not, Sir, by what you write, or any gentleman for or againſt the meaſure, that the Parliament of Ireland will be directed; no, it is by *the wiſhes of the maſs of the people of Ireland*, and not the ſelfiſh views of any party; it is not by the embryo Iriſh Repreſentative, ſtudious to catch the Miniſter's nod, in the Parliament of the Britiſh empire! It is not by the ſelf-intereſted Merchant at Waterford, Cork, or elſewhere, who is *told*, "an Union will be advan-"tageous to thoſe places." It is not by any deſcription of perſons, but the preponderating majority

majority of the Iriſh people that will direct our Parliament in the meaſure. As to "ſimplifying "our conſtitution" by an Union, it is an incomprehenſible poſition, monſtrous, enigmatical *quod-cunque oſtendes mihi ſic incredulus odi.* "Simplifying:"—No, Sir, it is ANNIHILATING the Iriſh conſtitution FOR EVER!!! And I am firmly convinced that an Union, ſo far from tending to "tranquillize Ireland (*as you aſſert it "would*) by removing a great domeſtic cauſe of "irritation," would but eſtabliſh *a greater* "domeſtic cauſe of irritation, to ALL the people "of Ireland," when they would be continually reminded, that her legiſlation was not ſimplified, but annihilated, irrecoverably annihilated! "An Union (you ſay) conſidered in the abſtract, "does not ſtrike you with that aſſemblage of "horrors, which ſome perſons appear to feel." I cannot anſwer for any gentleman's feelings, but my own, which are highly repugnant to *any* Union, *on any terms that Great-Britain could now, or even hereafter, beſtow.* Once Ireland is beſotted, or weak enough, to give up for ever, or for any period however ſhort, her ſeparate legiſlation, that is, her power of making and repealing laws—once ſhe ſurrenders the right and power of taxing the people, and the grand check of the Iriſh conſtitution, the palladium of Iriſhmen, *the granting or withholding ſupplies*—this country is no longer free, whether ſhe be under the government of the Britiſh conſtitution reformed, or under a foreign Republican form of government, a country ſo ſubmitting is an abject ſlave, a contemptible colony. As to an Union, being "a "queſtion merely of terms." Would to God its merits reſted on the mere terms, and it would not, I think, be difficult to prove, that however ſpecious the terms may be (and alluring they certainly

certainly will, should the measure be proposed) that we never can have any security for the inviolability of those terms, which is proved by the instance of the breach of the terms of the Scottish Union; and were I to rake up the history of Ireland, I could point out a treaty that was violated in defiance of the most solemn compact, by England; but let it be buried in oblivion; "I am no friend to posthumous resentment." What security can a subordinate and a weaker power have against the attempts of the stronger? Self interest sways mankind, from "*Indus to the Pole*;" and whenever it might be the convenience of any manufacturing town in England, to do away *any*, or *all*, of the terms of an incorporate Union of the British and Irish legislatures, that town or borough would but have to instruct its Representatives in the Senate of the empire. It then would be proclaimed to the Commons, how highly advantageous to Great-Britain that measure was, altho' injurious to Ireland!! The question is put, and Ireland is outvoted by *five* to *one*!!! What terms, then, can induce Ireland to be weak enough to resign her separate independent legislature? Assuredly by none, save the enslaved and the corrupted! And never can I suppose, altho' the question of an Union might be agitated, that it would pass the Legislature! a measure that would at once annihilate the Commons of the Irish Parliament, render the Peerage of Ireland a mere nullity, and the whole Body of the Irish People a mere morbid mass, a drove of Irish live stock, whom their herdsmen may then go sell to the highest bidder at Smithfield, or Westminster! I do then, Sir, think that no Treaty of Union, however advantageous the terms may profess to be, is admissible on the part of this kingdom. Ireland, to give up

up her liberty as an independent ſtate (altho' allied to Britain) her legiſlature, and every advantage thence derivative! no, never. " But it " would be an Union;" *it would not be an Union*; it would be tearing up by the root the ſcion of the Iriſh conſtitution, and engrafting it on an aged trunk, to cauſe an abſorption of power, of conſequence, of every thing dear to man on the one part, to bloſſom forth on Britain! a monſtrous aggrandizement of power and wealth on the part of Britain, and the total privation thereof on the part of Ireland, *This is the Union?* Such a monſter could never be long-lived, could never reſiſt the invader; he would fall lifeleſs at the feet of the firſt aſſailant, and throw open thoſe gates to the enemy, that he was ſtationed to guard. We then might ſay,

Hence waſting ills, hence ſev'ring factions roſe,
And gave large entrance to invading foes.

An Union, ſo unnaturally preſſed on, or forced againſt the inclination of one of the parties, could never be binding; diſguſt and ſeparation muſt inevitably enſue; and the injured party being ſtudious to ſeek retaliation, a divorce, *a Vinculo Matrimonii*, muſt enſue *for ever!!!*

You aſſert, Sir, " *You have no grounds to form* " *a conjecture, that the liberties of the Iriſh people* " *may not be as ſecure under the ſuperintendence* of " an imperial, as of a domeſtic legiſlature." This is begging the queſtion; and yet, in your next ſentence, I find your *own refutation*, in your *own* words, thus: " Few men have ever " been inveſted with power, who did not feel a

" diſpoſition to exceed the limits regularly pre-
" ſcribed!!!" Are you, Sir, arguing *for* or *againſt* an Union? If ſuch be the diſpoſition of mankind as *you* have repreſented, why ſhould Ireland give up that power, by an Union, to thoſe who feel, or may be inclined, " to exceed " the limits regularly preſcribed?" I know not. Your words are decidedly againſt it. I believe you are againſt it in your own mind, or you would have argued "the worſe cauſe" better than you've done. I don't know exactly what you mean by " Parliamentary Tribunals." Had you mentioned *Military*, we ſhould not have been in the dark. If you ſpeak of the Secret Committees of both Houſes of the Iriſh Legiſlature, you muſt be aware, that thoſe *Tribunals* would then neceſſarily be no more. " A ſingle inſtitution (you " aſſert) of controul, may be productive of eſ-
" ſential ſervice, and yet, Two as well as
" Twenty, may be exceſſive, inconvenient, and
" dangerous." That is to ſay, the power of an abſolute Monarch over his people, "may be pro-
" ductive of eſſential ſervice." But the check of the Two Eſtates of the Conſtitution, the Lords " and Commons of England, and the Lords and Commons of Ireland, " *as well as Twenty, may* " *be exceſſive, inconvenient, and dangerous.*" This indeed is reviving the *quod principi placuit, legis habet vigorem*, with a vengeance! It hence follows from your propoſition, that the Two branches of the Legiſlatures of both kingdoms, the Lords and Commons, ſhould be removed, as being "*ex-*
" *ceſſive, inconvenient, and dangerous,*" and no further neceſſity for them, under the exiſting circumſtances!!! O excellent advocate for arbitrary power! But there was a time, when to promulgate ſuch doctrines, would have met with imprisonment

priſonment from the legiſlature, as a groſs and flagrant breach of privilege.

You define the liberties of the people to be, "the confidence which every man ought to feel, "that he may ſafely and freely do every act "which is not forbidden by the laws, for the "welfare of the community." They have the *liberty* you ſpeak of, in Portugal, in Spain, in China, in Japan; but then *the laws are there tyrannical*. If the laws be tyrannical, how can a people poſſeſs *liberties*, let their conformity and obedience to thoſe laws be ever ſo great? The definition is a bad one; I am aware it is that of the Emperor Juſtinian, and taken for granted by Judge Blackſtone. But Mr. Chriſtian, a Profeſſor of the Laws of England, reprobates the definition, which he calls an "*abſurd one*," and adds, "*in every country*, and *under all circumſtances*, the ſubjects poſſeſs *the liberty* deſcribed by "this definition." As you defined Liberty, allow me to give you the definition of Slavery, as it is defined by Juſtinian, whom you have quoted from. "Slavery (ſays he) is that conſti"tution of the law of nations, where any ſtate "is ſubject to a foreign rule, contrary to the "law of nature*." Yet ſuch is the ſtate Ireland would be reduced to, when her Legiſlature would be no more, but incorporated with Great-Britain!"

You ſpeak of the laws, you are a Lawyer, and you muſt know that the man who endeavours to ſubvert the Conſtitution of Ireland, is guilty of high treaſon, whether that perſon be a Secretary or a Barriſter. In your catalogue of the

 advantages

* Servitus autem eſt Conſtitutio Juris Gentium, qua quis dominio alieno, contra naturam ſubjicitur.

Juſtinian's Inſtitutes, L. I. T. III. 2.

advantages of the Irish Constitution, you state the consequences, but slur over the cause of them, the constitution of King, Lords and Commons of Ireland. It is this constitution, that is the sole "guarantee," of the rights, the laws and the happiness of Ireland. You say, "Peers, and Representatives are but the means." If you give up the means for ever, how can you secure the end? If you destroy the originating prolific cause, how prevent the effect from being annihilated? You say "what reason is there to *suppose* that the supreme tribunals of the Union, "may not be as open to complaint, &c. &c. as "our Irish Parliament?" I answer in such a momentous subject as an Union, supposition should be laid aside; nothing but *facts* should be held out by the *advocates* of such a *monstrous* measure as an Union.

You say, "to many it would be highly pleasing to erect an independent government on every ten square miles of Europe."—I never heard of those *new lights*—they are not at least imported from the *one and indivisible!* the French Republic.

The policy of that Government has been, to consolidate its possessions, and every state to which its plunder and its oppression extended, was certain of being *fraternally* joined, not of having "an independent Government erected on every ten square miles!!!" Do you hold out such conduct as this, for the adoption of England? I am aware I am sure you do not—you might as well hold out the example of the piratical corsairs, as an example to England, as such a dogma as this. But Sir, this argument (as a late learned Law Lord expressed it) "cuts the other way" and with greater force, for admitting the argument in its fullest

fullest extent, it would go to prove, that from experience it was found, and from "the paſſions ariſing from local attachment," (as you expreſs it), from pique, prejudice, paſſion, intereſt and a variety of cauſes; that war had been waged for thoſe 1800 years and upwards, and finding from the plurality of governments, (altho' not on every ten ſquare miles of Europe) that it would be highly advantageous for the peace, ſecurity and happineſs of mankind, that thoſe plurality of States, Empires and Dominations, ſhould be done away, and one government, *one and indiviſible* ſhould dictate laws to a willing People.! Suppoſe one of thoſe three, the Grand Turk, the Dey of Algiers, or the Cham of Tartary, was to be ſelected out as the Chief of this Political Milenium—this ſecond Saturnian age!—How would Great Britain ſcoff and deſpiſe ſuch a mad propoſal!!! Suppoſe the King of Great Britain, was with the conſent of Parliament, to make the iſland of Angleſey, Wight, Jerſey or Man, the ſeat of Government; in ſuch caſe, it would prevent "*avenues being thrown open for faction, and diſunion, among the people as you ſay*, to have the Empire conſolidated, and enable that Iſle ſo choſen as the ſeat of Government, to have a Parliament of its own; ſuppoſe that to effect this conſolidation of the Empire, the Parliament, or rather the two eſtates, the Lords and Commons, upon meeting, ſhould conſider of an incorporating Union with the iſle of Man, or Jerſey, and have a Parliament *one and indiviſible*, to be annually held!!! ſuppoſe this to paſs into law; would the people of England be bound by it? they would not; ſo far from it, they would be abſolved from their allegiance—allegiance and protection being reciprocal,

cal, and the King and People bound to preſerve the Conſtitution and Laws of the Realm!!! You ſay, "how much more real importance "Ireland will derive when by the ſhare in "the general repreſentation, which ſhe is enti-"tled to obtain, ſhe will be enabled to influence "in *ſome reſpects* the councils of the empire." I deny the poſition, has Scotland derived more importance ſince ſhe has ſhared in the repreſentation? ſhe has not, what are her 16 Peers and her 45 Commoners? do they influence the councils of the empire? 45 to 500 are rather too great odds! the influence you hint to, is, I preſume that of the mother ſtate? I apprehend you—but this is the very reaſon that Ireland ſhould never acquieſce in an Union on any terms, as her repreſentatives would for ever in a colliſion of intereſts be outvoted by Britain—one to overpower * or even influence five!!! *riſum teneatis?* you ſay Sir, it is "the eſſential intereſt of Ireland, to be cloſely combined with Britain"—it certainly is the "eſſential intereſt" not only of Ireland but of England, that the connection ſhould continue between the two countries; but how they can be more cloſely combined, without the Iriſh ſea retires from its channel, and leaves dry ground, I cannot devine! An Union, would for ever prove "a great" and ſerious "domeſtic cauſe of irritation" to all the people of Ireland: I cannot agree with your propoſition that, "an incorporation of all the powers of the two ſtates execu-"tive and legiſlative, *is the moſt permanent and* "*eligible form of* connection." I think it would have a contrary effect, that inſtead of rendering that

* This would be the ratio of Iriſh Repreſentatives to Britiſh, that is ſuppoſing Ireland to have *ſo many*, as 100 Members in the Senate of the Empire.

that connection permanent, it would be the direct means of the diſſolution of the connection—during the late Rebellion (ſuppoſing an Union to have been effected) will any one be ſo credulous as to believe that the Yeomanry would have acted with the zeal and loyalty they then ſo eminently manifeſted? ſurely not—if during the late Rebellion, the maſs of the people of Ireland had been diſguſted with Great Britain; (ſtill ſuppoſing the Rebellion to have happened ſubſequent to an Union) and that the Nobles and Gentry of Ireland, had headed their Tenants? what ſituation would Ireland be in at this day?!!! "

I do agree with you Sir, that Ireland ſhould "cultivate the connection," "with every *reaſon-*"*able* aſſiduity." But I cannot ſee how reaſon authorizes us to transfer to another ſtate our liberties, our power, and our conſtitution, to which we are indebted for the independence of Ireland—a Free Trade, independent Judges, the extenſion of our Commerce, Manufactures, Canals, and the improvements of the Metropolis, and of the nation at large. ! ! ! That Conſtitution to which we are indebted for thoſe great advantages, we are required to ſurrender to another nation! By the ſame mode of arguing, you might as well propoſe that England ſhould ſurrender her Conſtitution and graft it on the ſtock of that of the Iriſh! Certain it is from the deductions you lay down, this is to be inferred: You ſay, "ſuppoſe France, ſhould intrigue herſelf into an eſtabliſhment in this country." Anſwer, at preſent I cannot admit this ſuppoſition; France has already endeavoured

deavoured to "*intrigue*" herſelf into this country, and ſhe has failed. What *intrigues*, then, can ſhe ſucceſsfully carry againſt this country? But ſuppoſe an Union with Great-Britain; it would be the watch-word to France, inſtantly to fit out a fleet againſt this iſland, and by intrigues and every effort, to wreſt it from Great-Britain. France receives the Britiſh newſpapers, and ſhe cannot be ignorant how decidedly unpopular, how expreſsly hoſtile, the meaſure of an Union with Great-Britain is to *every Iriſhman*. I think an Union replete with unceaſing "diſſenſions, "factions, diſcontents, fluctuating, diſcord-"ant," and perpetual! And I ſhrink back with horror at the event! We then, indeed, would be "in jeopardy," "confirmed beyond all "hazard."

"But people talk of the national debt of Eng-"land, and what then?" (you aſſert). "though "not legally, we are at this hour effectively "pledged to ſupport, with our reſources, the "credit of Great-Britain." When it ſhall have paſſed into a law in the Iriſh Parliament, we are; but I ſtrenuouſly contend for it, Ireland would not be bound *de jure*, in caſe of an incorporation of Legiſlatures, to participate the national debt of Britain, however the meaſure might be forced at the bayonet's point. O, "*what a bleſſed conſe-*"*lation!*" the diſadvantages, "diſſenſions, facti-"ons, diſcontents," attendant on a reſignation of our Legiſlature, are incalculable. Judge Blackſtone, ſpeaking of the Three Eſtates of our conſtitution, ſays, "it is highly neceſſary, for

"preſerving

" preserving the balance of our constitution, that
" the Executive Power should be a branch, tho'
" not the whole of the Legislature." And what is an union of the British and Irish Legislatures, but the surrender, *for ever*, of the Two Branches of the Legislature of Ireland, ONLY retaining the Third!! Giving up our Houses of Peers and Commons, as mere nullities, and throwing the power of the Two Estates into that of the Crown, which the same learned Judge I have just quoted, positively says, " WOULD BE PRODUC-
" TIVE OF TYRANNY!!" The imminent danger of such *an innovation* need hardly be mentioned. If we look back to the History of England, we will *there* find, *that* the enormous power of the Crown, created AN UNION between the Nobility and the People; that they both successfully opposed King John, and Henry Third. And if we look still farther back, we will find that the enormous power of the Crown, created that *indissoluble Union* of the people, so early as under the Norman Monarchs. By acquiescing to an Union, the people of Ireland give up—*for ever, irrevocably give up*, the greatest privilege a nation can possess, namely, that of " framing and proposing New Laws*."

But it may be said, even if an Union takes place, we will still have *Representatives*. I will not cavil at the term;—granted; you will have *Representatives*? But I reply, the merely appointing or electing them for the Parliament of the empire, is very inconsiderable—it is nugatory, when you, by an incorporation of Legislatures, transfer the Legislature of Ireland to another realm, and resign the authority of *what was* her Parliament, to that of the empire!! But believe me, (granting an Union to succeed) your Representatives

* De Lolme on the Constitution.

in the Parliament of the empire, will be but as a drop in the ocean! when Ireland ſhall be joſtled out of her Two Branches of her conſtitution, indeed her Repreſentatives at the Cockpit, Whitehall, will prove not ſtrong enough to eſpouſe the cauſe of Ireland; beſides, it will be unfaſhionable to do ſo; it would not pourtray the air of a faſhionable gentleman to ſmell of the turf of boggy Ireland; one would not be ſingular, and therefore would be *aſhamed* to exhibit the *Iriſh brogue* in the Britiſh Senate—"the very Iriſh "dogs have a brogue," as Mrs. Diggerty ſays in the play. Our Repreſentatives, at all events, will prove ineffectual to Ireland, in their efforts to aſſiſt her, when ſhe ſhall ceaſe to be a nation, and they will prove to be an uſeleſs, unneceſſary expence,—the moſt obnoxious of our Abſentees. But ſuppoſing them ever ſo virtuous, and friends to their country, what impreſſion can they make on the ſelfiſh iſolated owners of India ſtock, &c, their efforts, however well-intentioned, would prove ineffectual to their country's weal, and but remind her, when ſhe reads the public papers that would *record* her downfal, and *her loſs of national honour*—what ſhe was—and *what* ſhe then would be!

How is it poſſible to gloſs over, or cram down this dark—this deep-laid political artifice—an Union?——But "it will be of advantage to the "empire—it will heal the politico-religious dif-"ferences;" and if Ireland ſhould ſuffer in the conteſt—in population—manufacture, (which you acknowledge England *was not ever inclined to increaſe*) in wealth and in agriculture.——*Oh!* ſtill Ireland will ſerve as a Barrack, a Priſon, a Barrier

Barrier againſt the *One and Indiviſible* ——the French! Yes,

Imperial Cæſar, dead and turned to clay,
May ſtop a hole, to keep the wind away.

a very pretty conſolation truly!

What is it, Sir, you are contending to give up? *The important Right of Taxation*, forſooth, and generouſly break our own necks, by participating the national debt of England! Believe me we are unequal to the taſk; England does not require it of us; that great and commercial nation has great and incalculable reſources in herſelf, and ſhe need not ſtrangle a younger ſiſter in its cradle, to poſſeſs herſelf of its birth-right! No, I cannot believe it; nor can I for a moment think, that an Iriſh Houſe of Commons, who have ever jealouſly and vigilantly vindicated *that Great Right of Taxation*, againſt the encroachments of their own Houſe of Peers, will ever tamely or puſillanimouſly reſign it, to a Houſe of Commons *beyond the ſeas*; nor *can* they reſign the power of making and repealing laws, which "is not a *gratuitous* "contract, and in which the people are to take "what is given them, *and as it is given them.*" No; "it is a *contract* in which they *buy* and "*pay.**" As "to the national debt of England "being effaced by a bankruptcy," I do not ſee the ſlighteſt probability of it, and therefore will not purſue this calamitous *ignis fatuus*. The credit of Britain gives efficacy to her reſources, undeniable. She is the very "Coloſſus" of Rhodes! and never "may that Coloſſus that beſtrides the world," cruſh the youthful efforts of Ireland, in her population, her commerce, or her manufactures! "*What*

* De Lolme on the Conſtitution.

" *would become of this iſland,* (you tauntingly " aſk) unprotected and unprepared for the event, " if the artificial power of Britain were ſubvert- " ed?" It don't neceſſarily follow that we ſhould be ſunk in the ſea, or carried off by the " artifi- "cial power" of this political earthquake! I am at the ſame time aware of the advantages that reſult from the Britiſh connection. Still, however, the balance is not on our ſide; thoſe advantages are mutual and reciprocal.

I will invert your queſtion, " *What would be-* " *come of England,* if Ireland were for ever ſepa- " rated, ultimately, from her thro' the *medium* of " an incorporating Union?" " Britain covers " the ocean with her fleet!" She does, but they are manned for the moſt part by Iriſh ſailors; two-thirds are Iriſhmen; the armies of Britain are compoſed in a great degree of Iriſhmen: add to theſe, the other points in which Ireland is of conſe- quence to Britain, ſhe victuals her fleets, ſhe ſup- plies the Britiſh markets with linens, and ſupplies England with the redundancy of her corn.—— " *What will become of us?*" What became of us during the American war, when unprotected by the navy or by the armies of Great-Britain, our coaſts lay expoſed to the invader? We did very well. Iriſh courage, the immortal heroic Volun- teers of Ireland *(that an impudent publication preſumes to traduce)* ſprung up, armed to defend their country's rights, and ſupport the connection with Britain. " What became of us" in 1796, when the proud invader was anchored in Bantry? The Yeomanry, and the People of Ireland, op- poſed the foe with ſucceſs; he perceived he was deceived, that the nation was armed to oppoſe him, and he retired! What became of Ireland in May laſt, when a dreadful and formidable rebel-

lion

lion raged? She out-lived the ſtorm of faction.

You admit that Great Britain's "former treatment of Ireland was culpable," that is before 1782, and yet you are pleading for an Union; but this is explained in a paſſage that ſoon follows; where you ſay "I muſt not diſſemble that theſe "ſentiments originate in a great partiality to the "ſiſter nation," (that is England.) I am no friend, no more than you, "to poſthumous reſentments," but as the former conduct of Great Britain to Ireland was culpable,—ſhould an Union be effected, we can only judge of the *future* conduct of that country towards us by inference—the retroſpect of her *paſt*—we can only judge what the probable conduct of England would be after an Union, towards this Iſland, by recollecting, without the ſlighteſt "*poſthumous reſentment*," "that England's former conduct was culpable," and as you ſo well expreſs it, "we all know how prone we little mortals are to fall on each other."!!—How cautious then ſhould we be, never to reſign our Legiſlature, or ſurrender that important truſt.—*Oh, never let it periſh in our hands, but pioufly tranſmit it to our Children!* I agree with you, no intercourſe can be ſo beneficial to Ireland, "as that of Great Britain," and I lament it is not more extended; that is not the fault of this Country? we ardently wiſh for an enlarged participation of the trade of England; but to effect this, we will never barter our Conſtitution for traffic. Never!!! "The finances of Great Britain can never fail whilſt they are managed with ability." It may be ſo; but as to the ſimile of "the right hand ſettling accounts with

with the left!" It is above my comprehenſion: I believe often, too often, the right hand knows not what the left gives away;"—not in charity—and too often the greateſt proportion of the body politic is numbed and diſtreſſed, by this political gambling, and juggling of "right and left!" With regard to the various inventions, and diſcoveries in mechanics, and chemiſtry, I cannot ſee, how they are either "better than paying off the debt of the American war!" which coſt England £.130,000,000! or why thoſe diſcoveries, and inventions might not have taken place, altho' Columbus had never diſcovered America; and that the Britiſh nation had been unembarraſſed by a debt of £.500,000,000,—might not thoſe diſcoveries have been found out on at leaſt as equally advantageous terms, if neither of theſe contingences had occurred? As you are ſo ſtrenuous an advocate for the "exertions of the Empire," I will do you the juſtice, altho' you paſs by America "being loſt thro' the impolicy of miniſtry, to ſuppoſe that you regret her being cut off from the empire, by the very meaſure you are now contending ſhould be adopted to this kingdom!!

But "from France we will draw back, *as we "have done from America*, a part of the expences of the conteſt." I never heard of any *draw back* from America, ſave the one hundred and thirty millions of debt, we incurred from our impolitic conduct towards her! But "at the return of peace" you ſay "France will diſgorge the plunder of the Continent into the Engliſh counting-houſes!" This certainly is a pretty rhetorical figure—it would be a fine ſubject for a Hogarth; France diſgorging by anticipation all the plunder of the Continent,

Continent, all the images of gold and of ſilver, the crucifixes, the bells, the paintings of Raphael, Rubens and Vandyke, the plunder of the chapel of Loretto, all the antient ſtatues, the famed Lacoon,

* *The Statue that enchants the World,*

and the Apollo of Belvidere, all tumbling pell mell, *headlong*, into our merchant's counting houſes, by anticipation. !!! You ſay, "thoſe ſentiments originate in great partiality to the ſiſter nation; but it is a partiality founded on a ſenſe of her virtues," has Ireland no virtues? Read the Engliſh papers, look under the head of the King's-Bench, or Doctor's Commons, title *crim. con.* and you will have "a ſenſe of her virtues." I do not wiſh to detract from the greatneſs and virtue of the Britiſh nation; but I never can admit that Ireland is inferior to her in virtues, however ſhe may be her proud ſuperior in that reſpect; as to the country being diſgraced by the rebellion, England had years of rebellion; ſo that that poſition does not militate againſt the virtues of my country. You next come to ſpeak of the Iriſh Catholic, and ſay "his habits" "do not indiſpoſe him to the glory of the Britiſh Empire." I am ſure they do not; and I hope that the habits of the Iriſh Catholic, will never diſpoſe him, *under any circumſtances*, to wiſh for the annihilation of his native country; and am certain there are men amongſt that body, of as great virtue, honour and true patriotiſm as amongſt any deſcription in the ſtate.

You obſerve "how many controverſies have "been moved on the reciprocal obligations of "Great Britain and Ireland, as fraternal ſtates," if you acknowledge this, in the name of candour or

* Venus de Medicis.

or ſenſe, how can an Union be effected? If on trivial queſtions, "controverſies" have ariſen reſpecting the *reciprocal* obligations of the two countries, how great muſt that controverſy prove, where the intereſts of both are to be taken into conſideration? that of Great Britain in the firſt place, and Ireland in a ſecondary point of view. Would not (ſuppoſing an equal participation of trade and capital on the part of Ireland) the meaſure of an Union prove a conſtant ſource of contention; where the intereſts of the two countries would neceſſarily be conſtantly at iſſue, a ſource of ſerious controverſy, that might end in a dreadful and inevitable ſeparation? add to this, that the Iriſh Parliament would no longer exiſt, to check exorbitant demands on the part of the people, or to prove a barrier to the monopoly of Britiſh factors. So that as you expreſs it "the "two nations would incline variouſly"—and "only be employed in watching each other." Would not then ſuch a meaſure as an Union, prove the very climax of impolicy? You remark "you are ſure the Iriſh Parliament has "done well in preſerving on many queſtions, a "coincidence with the Miniſter." If ſo how can you conſiſtently write for the annihilation of that Parliament? Your own deductions overthrow your own propoſitions. You ſay "how inſidious the taſk we impoſe upon our Parliament, by majorities under the ſuſpicion of influence, to thwart the opinions, which their own diſcontented minority diſſeminates through the people." But what does this prove? nothing more than that there was an oppoſition in the Commons Houſe. There is the ſame in Great Britain; and as to the language in the Commons Houſe, no one has a right to queſtion it, where it does not militate againſt the public weal—and there the ſubject has a power to petition the Houſe, mentioning its diſadvantages, &c. You cannot

cannot do away the freedom of debate in the Parliament unless you destroy the Parliament. If all the People of Great Britain and Ireland conſent to the annihilation of the Britiſh and Iriſh Parliaments, they have a right ſo to do; but the King's Coronation Oath is a ſtumbling-block in the way of this ladder to arbitrary power! If the Parliament act conſcientiouſly and uprightly, they may contemptuouſly diſregard the invidious inſinuations of any party—"*honi ſoit qui mal y penſe.*"—If they are deſerving of thoſe imputations, the people will not *fare* better when they ſhall have exported an hundred repreſentatives to Whitehall.

You ſay, "to reject a permanent ſettlement, on the ground of vanity, reſembles the ſimplicity of a poor man preferring gaudy tatters to the comforts of induſtry."—But Sir, rejecting a Union is not "rejecting a permanent ſettlement," but on the contrary, *refuſing to abdicate that* "*permanent ſettlement*" of the Lords and Commons of Ireland, for a political chimera, a new-fangled experiment in the "horſe-play of politicians"!! as to the application of the elegant ſimile of "gaudy "tatters", I leave it to thoſe more converſant in ſuch matters, to the Jews of Duke's-place, or to the caſt clothes mongers in Monmouth-ſtreet. Indeed "I cannot ſee the wiſdom" of an Union; I think it to be totally deſtructive of liberty, and neither "uſeful" nor "ornamental." I deny that Ireland would be enriched by an Union of Legiſlatures, that her commerce would be improved, or her laws or her inſtitutions, under the Parliament of Great Britain, *conſtituted as it is*. Ireland has been "improved in her agriculture," I grant it, and alſo that "the repeal of the penalties againſt adhering to the Catholic Religion have much added to the wealth of Ireland,"

admitted;

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admitted; but I muſt inſiſt that an Union, ſo far from "meeting the exigencies of the population," would but diminiſh our population. De Lolme, a writer extremely partial to England, confeſſes that the Union of Scotland with England, *diminiſhed her population*, and he allows, that after the Union, Scotland complained of the drain of ſpecie, in conſequence of her Abſentees!!! He further makes this remarkable obſervation, (although ever partial, as I have before obſerved, to every circumſtance appertaining to England) "Scotland CANNOT perhaps be ſaid to have "been a *gainer* by the Union, *in regard to the* "*rate* according to which ſhe bears the *burden of* "*public taxes*; THOUGH THE CASE IS REPRE-"SENTED SO. Scotland now pays the ſame "extenſive exciſes, cuſtoms, and ſtamp duties, "as are paid in England!! So much for the *advantages* of an Union, as they operated on Scotland! It would not prove difficult to draw the inference with circumſtances of deterioration to Ireland, ſhould a ſimilar meaſure be adopted. You obſerve, "where the linen manufacture has not taken root, the people at a certain diſtance from the coaſt are wretched." Why are they wretched? if ſo, why does not the legiſlature relieve them, and eſtabliſh ſome mode of induſtry? If their own legiſlature does not, is it to be ſuppoſed, much leſs to be expected, that a *foreign legiſlature*, will? If the landholder "can fix what value ſuits him on the labour he purchaſes," why ſhould not this be long ſince redreſſed? If it has not, what is to prevent that redreſs to take place *now* without an Union? I can ſee no reaſon.

You ſay, "a great change of manners" is only to be effected *by a great change of Conſtitu-*

* Aide, De Lolme's "Hiſtorical Sketch of Scotland."

tion!! that is, the total deſtruction of the Iriſh Conſtitution! to render Ireland a prey to the caprice of Britiſh ſtock-jobbers. "*a great change*" indeed, "of the Conſtitution;" *but how fallen, how changed!!* May that God who has hitherto not forſaken his Iriſh People, or forgotten them, ever protect the ſame nation againſt ſo ſelf-deſtructive a meaſure as AN UNION!!!

You remark, "conteſt, for power among the upper circles would be innocent, if to them they were confined; but, acting on the tenacity of the Proteſtants, and the expectations of the Catholics, they carry bitterneſs to every fire-ſide in Ireland;" and therefore the abominable concluſion is to be drawn, that an Union is an eligible meaſure! that is to ſay, the "tenacity of the Proteſtants, and expectations of the Catholics" cauſe an unpleaſant and invidious diſtinction in the ſtate, and therefore, as the Catholics will not be placed on the ſame baſe with the Proteſtants, we will pull them down to the ſame that baſe, by an Union, and reduce the Proteſtants to the ſame humiliated ſituation as ourſelves!!!

———"*here, at leaſt,*
"*We ſhall be free; the Almighty hath not built*
"*Here for his envy—will not drive us hence:*
"*Here we may reign ſecure.*"

This is the language of fallen unſucceſsful ambition; it may apply to every ſect individually, but as a body, I am certain it no more applies to the Catholics than to the Proteſtants. Sampſon inſtigated by repeated inſults, pulled down thro' revenge, the pillars of the temple;—it is true he killed his enemies, but he periſhed himſelf in the ruins!!! This might be inferred from what you have laid down, but I cannot credit it. You muſt be aware, that ſuppoſing the Catholics to obtain their emancipation as an accom-

accompaniment of an Union, that ſtill they could not ſit in the Parliament of the Empire; ſo that it would be but a nominal advantage, ſcarcely a feather in the Catholic plume.

With reſpect to an Union, ſo far from healing the unhappy bigotted differences of religion, I think it would but the more fully confirm them. No one could wiſh more than I do to put an end to "theſe feuds," and "baniſh wretchedneſs "from the land;" but as I have obſerved, I do think an Union would but fatally confirm the former, and inſtead of "baniſhing," *domeſticate* the latter—wretchedneſs in the land! I cannot ſee, why the cauſe of thoſe feuds ſhould not be removed without an Union, and much more efficaciouſly, than if that event were to take place. Monteſquieu ſays, "a ſtate cannot change its "religions, manners and cuſtoms in an inſtant, "and with the ſame rapidity as the Prince pub-"liſhes the ordinance, which eſtabliſhes a new "religion." No one can deny that the Catholic was the native religion, if I may ſo expreſs it, of Ireland; and therefore it muſt take time, and meaſures ought to be adopted to conciliate the jarring of religions. Penal laws againſt men, merely for holding different tenets in religion, I have ever looked upon as a barbarous policy, to effect ſelfiſh political purpoſes. "Penal laws "(obſerves the ſame writer I have juſt quoted) "ought to be avoided in reſpect to religion; they "imprint fear, it is true; but as religion has "alſo penal laws which inſpire the ſame paſſion, "the *one* is *effaced* by the *other*, and between "theſe two different kinds of fear, the mind "becomes hardened." This expreſſion of my ſentiments, backed by Monteſquieu, will ſhew I

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am far, very far, from being prejudiced againſt the Catholics of Ireland

Again, I cannot ſee "why the people of Ire-"land ſhould not have an individual intereſt," equally without an incorporation of Legiſlatures. If an Union is to prove of ſuch advantage to England, from the extenſion of commerce, &c. in this country, why does not England *now*, without the *cabaliſtic term*, Union, grant us thoſe commercial advantages and regulations, in the various ſects of religion, to prevent the return of thoſe "*politico-religious*" feuds? As it would be for her advantage, ultimately; it appears ſtrange infatuation, and narrow-minded policy, on her part.

I have already obſerved, that an Union I look upon diſadvantageous to Ireland, though painted in all the glowing blandiſhments a vivid imagination can invent. But in caſe of an Union, you obſerve, we will get "Banks "and Diſcount-Offices, which are to be met "with in England and Scotland!" You ſuppoſe, Sir, we will obtain all thoſe with an Union. It may be ſo. Go to Scotland, and you will get Sixpenny and Threepenny Notes! It is but the other day, that another "Scotch "Small Note Bill," paſſed the Britiſh Houſe of Commons; no doubt you will have colonies of Bankers * coming here and circulating their Paper Kites; in fact, it would be the beſt trade then going, and the moſt profitable mode of converting paper. We we might then brag—we turned all our paper "to gold," as Captain Macheath did his lead, *by robbing the public!* But to return.

* As ſoon as the Union would take place, we would very rapidly feel the want of ſpecie, which the Scots have experienced ſince the Union.

return. With regard to the "Commercial Propoſitions," I think they argue very ſtrongly againſt our agreeing to an Union; if they were mutually and reciprocally advantageous to the countries, why did not they paſs? Becauſe the Propoſitions framed by the Britiſh Miniſter, aimed *vitally* at the Iriſh Conſtitution; his were rejected by Ireland with contemptuous indignation; and becauſe the Propoſitions on the part of Ireland were advantageous to Ireland, for this *ſole* reaſon were they clamorouſly oppoſed by the Britiſh manufacturers, and rejected ultimately by the Parliament of Great-Britain. With reſpect to the "very great reſemblance which, previous "to the Union (as you remark) Scotland bore to "the actual ſtate of Ireland;" I ſhall obſerve, there is a ſimilarity, no doubt, but I cannot admit it to be "very great," and truſt I ſhall be able to prove prominent and material differences.

The Difference of the Conſtitution of Scotland and the Conſtitution of Ireland.

The Parliament of Scotland was not conſtituted ſimilar to the Parliament of Ireland; it was conſequently diſſimilar to that of England. The Scottiſh Parliament, ſuitable to the ariſtocratical genius of the government, was properly an Aſſembly of Nobles, compoſed of the great Barons, of Eccleſiaſtics, and a *few* Repreſentatives or Commiſſioners of Boroughs, and conſtituted *but one* Aſſembly, or Houſe of Parliament, in which the Lord Chancellor preſided; the whole Aſſembly at the moſt did not perhaps amount to one hundred and twenty perſons, and theſe the ariſtocracy of the kingdom, the feudal proprietors of the greateſt eſtates of the country. Accordingly the people felt,

felt, naturally felt they were oppreſſed, by a proud and domineering Ariſtocracy; that they were thrown into the back ground, unrepreſented and oppreſſed. But on inquiring further into the ſubject, we find, that a certain committee, (not diſſimilar, we may ſuppoſe, from the *Rehearſals* at the Cockpit, Whitehall.) "The *Lords* "*of Articles**, not only directed the whole pro- "ceedings of Parliament, *but propoſed a negative* "*before debate*. That committee was choſen and "conſtituted in ſuch a manner, as put this va- "luable privilege *entirely in the King's hands*." The hiſtorian further adds thoſe remarkable words on this Conſtitution of Scotland: "Capa- "ble of either influencing their election, or of "gaining them when elected, the King com- "monly found the Lords of Articles *no leſs ob-* "*ſequious to his will than his* own *Privy Council!* "and by means of his authority with them, he "could put a negative upon his Parliament *be-* "*fore* debate, *as well as after it*; and what may "ſeem altogether incredible, the moſt limited "Prince in Europe *actually poſſeſſed*, in one in- "ſtance, *a prerogative which the moſt abſolute* "*could never attain!!!*" How differently framed from the Conſtitution of Ireland, aſſimilated to that of England, panegyrized by a Monteſquieu, a Blackſtone, a Coke, De Lolme, &c. &c. Ireland, all muſt know, has a Conſtitution of King, Lords and Commons; that whoever is King of England, is *de facto*, King of Ireland. I have before, early in this Eſſay, pointed out the advantages of the Iriſh Conſtitution, to which page I refer the reader. He will not then be long in doubt to perceive, that all the vaunted advantages, the commerce, and participation of the trade,

* Dr. Robertſon's Hiſtory of Scotland.

trade, &c. &c. of England, is but a trap to cajole Ireland, to cauſe her to give up her right and power of taxing the Iriſh people, to transfer that imprescriptible right to another country, and by that means ſurrender our liberties and our laſt guinea, in carrying on a war, impolitic and unneceſſary in its beginning, deſtructive in its conſequences, and God grant it may not be fatal in its termination!

Theſe are the *bleſſings* of an Union!—Will the people take the viper to their boſoms? If they do, they will awake as from a trance, aſtounded by its mortal poiſon, and daſh the ungrateful monſter to the earth, when repentance will prove but the harbinger of death!!!

Here then the diſſimilarity of the Scottiſh and Iriſh Conſtitutions; the people of the former were *unrepreſented*; the people of the latter have three hundred Repreſentatives in a Houſe diſtinct from the Peers, and with thoſe Repreſentatives of the people, the power of making, altering and repealing laws, is veſted by the Conſtitution, and every bill, or vote for raiſing money for the exigencies of the ſtate, or for the Sovereign, *muſt originate in the Iriſh Commons.* Admitting then for argument's ſake, for a moment, that the Scotch nation, participating in the Engliſh Conſtitution, derived advantages from thence, the analogy would fail when applied to Ireland.

The Difference of the priſtine internal State of Scotland, and the preſent State of Ireland.

There had been an ancient alliance between France and Scotland, by the intermarriages of the royal families of both kingdoms; and the reciprocal aſſiſtance of the two countries to each

other.

other. But ſtill Scotland was then, as it is now, ſeparated but by an artificial boundary, from England, "*a line by fancy drawn divides* "*the ſiſter kingdoms,*" and therefore Scotland might certainly with great propriety, be ſaid to form a component part of one and the ſame iſland; conſequently, it was the intereſt of England, to cloſe the only inlet of a foreign enemy into her country, and put a final period to the dreadful conflict, of a long, bloody and conterminous warfare! Not ſo with Ireland. This country ſince the invaſion of Henry II. has been annexed to the Britiſh crown, and as I have already remarked, whoever is king of England, is *de facto*, alſo king of Ireland.—But in Scotland, when ſhe was allied to the crown of Great Britain, by the Union of the two kingdoms under Queen Anne, there exiſted a dangerous claim to the throne of Scotland, from the houſe of Stuart; it hence became a queſtion, (as the kingdoms were nominally united under the Scotch monarch James VIth. but Iſt. of England) whether Scotland was to be united to England, or admit the claim of the pretender, the ſon of James the ſecond, whoſe pretenſions were backed by the ſtrength of Scotland, ſupported by a French force, and ſtill further aſſiſted by the Engliſh malecontents. Add to this, another material diſtinction of the internal ſituation of Scotland and England; the Scots monarch until the reign of James VI. reſided in Scotland: this was a ſerious ſource of diſcontent to the Scots, and is totally inapplicable to Ireland, whoſe monarch has never reſided in the kingdom. The Scottiſh Union, not only thus for ever excluded the family of Stuart from the throne of England, but likewiſe, prevented in future the bloody contentions between the houſes

of York and Lancaſter. Theſe are totally inapplicable to this kingdom; no ſimilarity can here be traced: all Scotland, at the period I have alluded to, aſſiſted by Engliſh malecontents, had from her alliance with France, received conſtant reinforcements from that country: Not ſo with Ireland; during a formidable war with America, her coaſts defenceleſs, and the kingdom unprotected by an Engliſh army; (as it has been previouſly remarked) her gallant, immortal Volunteers, (with pride and glorious exultation I look back) defended her againſt the invader, and preſerved her connexion with England inviolate! and during a dreadful rebellion,—a violent ſtruggle to eſtabliſh democracy, aſſiſted by a foreign force, in 1798, the majority of the people and yeomanry of Ireland proved faithful to the Britiſh connexion, they *fought and conquered.*

An Union of Legiſlatures, is not the means of ſecuring Ireland to the Britiſh Crown.

It has been the policy of France in every war, ſince William the 3d. of England; during her monarchy, and now under her democracy, by means of her intrigues to eſtabliſh her intereſt in this country, and wreſt it from Great Britain. France perceived this was the vulnerable part of the empire; ſhe was acquainted with the wretchedneſs of the lower orders of the people, and from her knowledge of human nature; ſhe learned that a people poor and diſtreſſed, who have nothing to loſe, but whoſe expectations of plunder, and whoſe hopes of gain, might be raiſed on the invaſion of a foreign force, would ever be ready to join the invader, not from affection, but ſelf love. Will an Union eradicate poverty and diſtreſs from this country? I fear not; but on the contrary

contrary increaſe both, from the abſentees, and the drain of ſpecie, and loſs of population attendant on an Union: inſtead of tranquilizing, are not thoſe who are advocates for the Union, raiſing *a new and formidable body of malecontents*, who day after day, publicly expreſs in very *plain* and ſtrong terms, their ſtrong diſapprobation of the meaſure? while there remain diſcontented bodies of any deſcription, of any claſs in the nation, there ever will be an inlet to the enemies of the empire, an Union will not cloſe the door of invaſion; but on the contrary prove the means of final ſeparation. The beſt ſecurity let every government be perſuaded, againſt the invader, is the affections of the people: convince them that you have their intereſts at heart, they will not be ſlow of belief, conciliate their animoſities, ameliorate the lower orders, let every man feel that he is recognized by the laws and conſtitution, and you may laugh at the threats, and attempts of Europe, leagued againſt ſuch a government!

But to return, you obſerve that thoſe who frame the union, ſhould attend to "to the circumſtances of Ireland, and leave no grievance unredreſſed, when the adjuſtment of the Union is completed," why ſhould not a wiſe liberal and good government adjuſt thoſe circumſtances, and redreſs grievances when they exiſt *without* an Union ever taking place? I can ſee no reaſon why they ſhould not, the more particularly ſo as it ſtrikes me that ſuch meaſures would be in the end highly advantageous to the government. I muſt again repeat, that no Union can be advantageous to Ireland, however liberal the terms. ——One word more, and finally I take my leave of the ſubject: You remark, "I do not "ſee that Ireland can attain a prominent rank

" in the affairs of Europe. If my country can-
" not be great, I wiſh to ſee her comfortable" I too wiſh to ſee her comfortable; it is my moſt anxious wiſh; and for that reaſon I oppoſe invariably an Union with Great Britain, as productive of a contrary effect. But, good Heavens! does the monſtrous concluſion follow, that, becauſe our country *may not* " attain a prominent rank in the affairs of Europe," that ſhe ſhould neceſſarily ceaſe to be a nation? Does it follow as a conſequence that ſhe is to be annihilated; to become the partitioned Poland, or the ruin'd Switzerland of the Empire?—No; this is only the language of deſperation; Ireland ſhall never be the province of haughty Albion!—never—Ireland is a nation famed for her valour and virtues throughout Europe; and may ſhe ever continue ſo to the remoteſt period of time, great and happy—coexiſtent with the world!!!

THE END.

ORANGE VINDICATED,

IN A REPLY

TO

THEOBALD M'KENNA, Esq.

WITH

OBSERVATIONS

ON THE

NEW AND FURTHER CLAIMS

OF THE

CATHOLICS,

AS AFFECTING THE

CONSTITUTION AND THE PROTESTANT ESTABLISHMENT.

A NEW EDITION

REVISED AND ENLARGED

WITH NOTES,

BY THE AUTHOR.

Pars Hominum vitiis gaudet constanter, et urget Propositum:

DUBLIN:

Printed by WILLIAM M'KENZIE, No. 33, College-green.

1799.

PREFACE.

I THINK it neceſſary to premiſe, that the following work does not contain any arguments for or againſt an Union; that ſubject has been already ſo copiouſly and prematurely diſcuſſed, as to become worn out and trite, even before the queſtion is known, or has been propounded: So that we may find the common adage inverted, and ſee a *new* friend with an old *old* face.

The Memoire of Mr. M'Kenna, under the pretext of treating of ſome queſtions, reſpecting the Union, is, in reality, a Catholic Manifeſto, denouncing the Orangemen, as enemies to the Catholic cauſe, monopoliſts, and diſturbers of the public peace. The gauntlet thrown down with ſuch fierce defiance, I have taken up. The object of theſe ſheets is, to refute theſe weighty charges, and rebut the ſlander, by ſtating the principles, conduct, and

relative ſituation, of the Proteſtants and Catholics in this kingdom; with ſome ſtrictures on the new and unwarrantable pretenſions of the latter. The reader need not ſearch for any underplot or ambiguity—there is none ſuch. I have endeavoured, without aiming at what is called compoſition, to expreſs myſelf in the moſt plain and intelligible language, and that degree of ſerioufneſs, which ſubjects of great national concern demand, though it has lately been the the faſhion to treat them with farcical buffoonery, and grinning levity. How far I have ſucceeded, the public will judge.

A LETTER

A

LETTER

TO

THEOBALD M'KENNA, Esq. &c,

Sir,

TAKING up a pamphlet bearing your name on its title page, and purporting to be, A Memoire on the Projected Union, I expected to find that ſubject generally diſcuſſed, and from former proofs of your ability as a writer, I deduced hopes of receiving ſome new lights, on that important queſtion; under this impreſſion, I travelled with you, to your 16th page, not without ſome approbation, and pleaſure, when to my great ſurpriſe, and diſappointment, your real plot opened, and I diſcovered, that the ſcope and tendency of your Memoire, however uſhered in and maſked, under the moſt plauſible introductory pretenſions, was neither more or leſs, than to make a moſt groſs and audacious attack, on the principles, and conduct, of the loyal Proteſtants of Ireland, and in this again, you diſplay an addreſs truly Jeſuitical: You are an avowed Catholic advocate, and it might be expected, that you ſhould reſt

reſt their cauſe in ſome degree, on their merits as a body, their obedience to the laws, their public virtue, their morality, or their loyalty; but no! you wiſely deſert thoſe grounds, as not tenable, and inſtead of defending your own, you boldly attack, what you conſider an enemy's poſition, vainly hoping, by calumniating the Proteſtants, to ſerve and forward the cauſe of the Catholics.

You at once roundly aſſert, that Ireland can never be ſettled by domeſtic means—and why? Becauſe the loyal Proteſtants of Ireland have dared to form aſſociations, for the defence and ſupport of the conſtitution, and their religion; and becauſe they have alſo dared, in defiance of rebellion, and Popery, to wear openly, an Orange ribband, as a badge, or ſymbol, of their aſſociation. Though not an old man, I recollect the time, when a publication ſuch as yours, would have been conſidered a ſpecies of treaſon againſt the conſtitution; and would have ſubjected the writer, to exemplary puniſhment; but now thanks to the liberality, as it is termed, but in reality to the profligate apathy of the preſent day, any public concern of morality, virtue, or religion, may be ſafely invaded, and men are only to be roufed, by trenching on their private and paltry intereſts.

The beſt refutation I can offer, to your falſe and ſcandalous libel, is to tell you, who and what thoſe Orangemen, whom you revile, are, which you may poſſibly not thoroughly know, though I ſuſpect there is much of pretended ignorance, affected terror, and wilful perverſion, among thoſe of your ſect, in regard to the Orange inſtitution. The expoſition of the origin and principles of the Orange aſſociation, will neceſſarily lead me to a diſcuſſion of the

principles and views of the Catholics, their merits, and their claims, and the dreadful conſequences, which muſt inevitably enſue, ſhould fate, or our madneſs, ever grant to them full means of obtaining political power; I ſhall afterwards, Sir, advert to ſome of your aſſertions, and poſitions, in ſuch order as they occur; and in ſo doing, I ſhall ſedulouſly avoid any opinion, or diſcuſſion, on the queſtion of the projected Union, and ſolely confine myſelf to remarks, on what you have advanced againſt the Orange ſocieties, and in favour of the Catholics, and their pretenſions.

The name of Orangemen was firſt adopted by ſome Proteſtants in the county of Armagh, at a time when the jealouſies excited by the exerciſe of the portion of political power, newly granted to the Catholics, had unfortunately broke out, in open hoſtility, and mutual outrages, and after the violence of thoſe feuds had ceaſed, Orange * aſſociations ſtill continued, and ſpread over many parts of the province of Ulſter. In the year 1797, when the ſyſtem of the United Iriſhmen had attained a great

* The facts are: The Catholics of Ulſter generally, but of Armagh in particular, had been very diligent in procuring arms, about the beginning of 1791, and appeared to prepare for inſurrection. It ſeems, they had determined (in caſe of the rejection of the claims they had preferred, and which were then pending) to ſeek redreſs by arms—the privileges they ſoon after obtained, ſuſpended their hoſtile projects. Every one knows how invidious and degrading to the Proteſtant body of Ireland, the manner of the grant of thoſe immunities was. The Proteſtants of Armagh in the beginning of 1794, I ealous of the newly privileged Catholics, began to diſarm them.——— The Catholics reſiſted, and ſeveral conflicts took place. In September 1795, a treaty of peace was ſolemnly entered into between the contending parties—But ſhortly after, the Catholics degree

degree of maturity, and was every day threatening open rebellion, and when the Catholics, little grateful for paſt favours, demanded new conceſſions, amounting to a ſurrender of the conſtitution, under the fantaſtical name of Catholic emancipation, which ſtood foremoſt among the poſtulata of the rebels, then I ſay, at that dangerous criſis, a plan was formed, and executed, of tranſplanting the Orange aſſociation from the North to the metropolis, and by regulating and improving the ſyſtem, and placing at its head men of higher rank and talent, to convert to the ſupport of the Throne and the Conſtitution, an inſtitution, which from the nature of its origin and formation, might have degenerated into a ferocious ſpirit of perſecution, this plan was the more beneficial and laudable, as any attempt to cruſh the aſſoci tion, in the place of its origin, would have been highly dangerous and impolitic, and therefore

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broke this treaty, by treacherouſly attacking with very ſuperior numbers the unſuſpecting Proteſtants—The Catholics, though in the proportion of near ten to one, were defeated with the loſs of 48 men, laid dead on the ſpot, and many wounded—the battle was called the battle of the Diamond—and in commemoration of it, the firſt Orange Lodge was founded on the 21ſt. of September 1795,—the *name* of Orangemen had been adopted a year before.—The Proteſtants indignant at the treachery of the Catholics, proceeded to expel them by fire and ſword from the country, and many were obliged to take refuge in Connaught.—This ſtatement fully refutes the malicious, falſe, and ridiculous aſſertion "*that the diſturbance of this kingdom was cauſed by the Orangemen*," who did not at all exiſt under that name, untill the rebellion was fully organiſed; or whoſe ſocieties had not become general; untill the very eve of actual inſurrection. In the ſame manner, I have heard Lord Camden accuſed of being the author of the rebellion, of 1798 though he had never been in Ireland before March 1795, when the plan of inſurrection had almoſt reached maturity.—Thus impudent falſhoods meet detection, and contempt.

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it was wiſe and expedient to direct the motions and progreſs of a machine, which could not, with ſafety, be ſtopped. The detaching the Preſbyterians from the Union, as it was then called, was alſo a ſtrong motive. The publication of the principles of the inſtitution, ſoon became neceſſary, to refute the various falſhoods and calumnies levelled with unceaſing malice againſt the Orangemen.—Many enrolled themſelves in the aſſociation, in conſequence of the decided part the Catholics then began openly to take in the impending rebellion, and I am convinced that many perſons were preſerved firm in their allegiance, from the ſupport and example of theſe ſocieties, who, had they not found ſuch a refuge, would have been betrayed by their fears into the ſociety of the Union. I refer to the * declaration of the Orange principles, and I do declare as an Orangeman, that in that declaration, the principles of the inſtitution have been fully and wholly ſet forth, without equivocation or reſervation †. Now, I ſay, that the Orangemen of Ireland, as at preſent conſtituted, are merely loyal Proteſtants, aſſociated and bound together, under no new or unknown principles, but ſolely for the purpoſe of keeping in memory, ſupporting, and defending the Laws, Conſtitution, and Religion, as eſtabliſhed by the great King William, at the glorious Revolution, and reviving, by a freſh obligation, their ſenſe of a ſolemn and ſacred duty, and their determination, as far as in them lies, to perform that duty,

* See Appendix No. 1.

† As an inſtance, that the Orangemen of Ireland act according to their declaration I refer to appendix *No.* 2. The ſubſcriptions then raiſed were principally for the uſe of the brave Limerick Regiment, all Catholics.

duty, namely, that of tranſmitting unimpaired to their children, that Conſtitution, in Church and State, which they received, as a moſt precious gift, and depoſit, from the hands, and cemented with the blood, of their fathers. It hence follows, that every true and loyal Proteſtant, though he has not formally renewed ſuch his duty, by any freſh obligation, is virtually and morally bound, by the ſame ties and principles, as a ſworn Orangeman. I do aſſert, that the circumſtances of the times called for ſome new ſpur, ſome further teſt, ſome freſh pledge, of mutual aſſiſtance, and of energy in the ſupport, and defence of our laws, our religion, our perſons, and our properties—* for there is nothing more certain

* Independent of the comparative ſecurity, againſt treaſon and rebellion, which the loyal Proteſtants of Ireland have gained, by the eſtabliſhment and univerſality of the Orange Aſſociation, other advantages are to be expected from ſuch a conſolidation of the Proteſtant body, and intereſt, ſhould a miſerable and ſhort-ſighted ſtate policy, or ſtate party, ever again aim at the ſurrender and overthrow of our Religion and Conſtitution, and the ſacrifice of thoſe ſolid and ineſtimable bleſſings, without which we can have no ſafety, ſhould any perſon I ſay, be found weak or wicked enough to tamper with the vital and fundamental principles of our glorious Conſtitution, ſubjecting them to the experiments of ſhallow quackery, or the daſtardly ſyſtem of wretched, trembling, cowardly, temporary expediency, throwing the augmented miſchief with ruinous weight on futurity. Should theſe evils again threaten, the Proteſtant body will have a rallying point, an organization ſufficiently coheſive, conſiſtent and energetic, to enſure the preſervation of its rights, its privileges, its properties, its exiſtence.—— Wheuſoever this ſtruggle may occur, the Proteſtants of England and Scotland cannot (if they conſult their own intereſts) be deaf to the cries of their brethern in Ireland, when they call to them for aid—and the Iriſh Proteſtants will call. Had the Orange aſſociation exiſted in 1793, as it now does, the Proteſtants of Ireland would not have then been made the Shuttlecocks of the Miniſter, or held up to their enemies, in the contemptible and invidious

tain, than that they are bound in one ſheaf, and ſhould the band once be looſened, all will be ſcattered, trodden under foot, diſſipated and loſt. We were aſſailed at once by the whole hoſt of French principles, their ſpurious liberty, and mock equality, the rights of man, republican fanaticiſm, the rage of political innovation, and the monſtrous union of atheiſm and ſuperſtition—all theſe had to work on a divided, and diſcontented nation, the majority of which conſidered the Conſtitution and Government as a foreign uſurpation, and the eſtabliſhed Religion an impious and damnable hereſy; † but more dangerous than all, many among ourſelves began to be infected by a ſtrange apathy, and luke-warmneſs, towards things formerly conſidered as claiming our warmeſt intereſt and attachment. I hope, and believe, that the Orange inſtitution has given to us an animating and ſeaſonable impulſe, and has tended to rouſe us to a ſenſe of our danger, and our duties—nothing leads me more ſtrongly to this belief, than the hatred, abuſe, and fear, manifeſted by the people of a certain deſcription, againſt an aſſociation which they ſeem

invidious point of view, which at the ſame time augmented antipathy, and invited hoſtility.—I do not mean to ſay, that conceſſions ought never to have been made to the Catholics, or even ought not to have been then made, but I object to the little reſpect ſhewn to the Proteſtants, their intereſts, or their ſentiments, to the inconſiderate levity which urged them to a committal of thoſe ſentiments, and to the caprice which ſubjected them to the imputation of a cowardly dereliction, of a raſh and imprudent reſolve—In ſhort I object to the manner of the grant. To this, much of the ſubſequent miſery of Ireland may be referred—A boon graciouſly conferred, tends to conciliation—but conceſſions extorted, lead to further, and more exorbitant pretenſions. Hence the favourite maxim of the Catholics "that nothing could be gained by negociation, but every thing by demand."

† As a proof of this, ſee the Appendix, No. 3.

ſeem to conſider as a bulwark, interpoſed between them and the temple of the Conſtitution, which they ſeek to enter, for the purpoſe of violating. I do, Sir, moſt poſitively deny your aſſertion, that the Orange body laments that immunities have been granted to the Catholics, or denies them further conceſſions for the purpoſe, or on the principle of ſecuring to themſelves, a ſelfiſh pre-eminence over their fellow-ſubjects. On the contrary, the Orangemen have viewed, with pleaſure, every indulgence granted to the Catholics, whereby they have been rendered more ſecure in their perſons and properties, and the free exerciſe of worſhipping God in any manner they pleaſe; but we deprecate and oppoſe the granting political power to Catholics, who, we are convinced, muſt ever direct that power unceaſingly, and always, to the deſtruction and overthrow of our religion, and the eſtabliſhment of their own; and this they never could hope to effect, otherwiſe than by a ſeparation from England, and a total change of the Conſtitution. It is impoſſible that any Catholic could honeſtly and zealouſly adminiſter the affairs of a Proteſtant ſtate—and if we were even content to ſhare every thing with them, and give up all eſtabliſhment and pre-eminence, they would ceaſe to be Catholics, if they did not perſeveringly aim at ſupremacy, and the paramount eſtabliſhment of the Popiſh religion. Catholics could not be content to ſhare equal power with heretics, all civil intereſts muſt be overlooked; the advancement of the holy church, is with them an obligation which muſt take place of all others.—* The moſt

* All civil obligations are enforced and ſecured directly or indirectly by the interpoſition of religious ties. Morality not eſtabliſhed on religion, is vague and inſufficient, a *fortiori*—what miſchief may be expected to ariſe, ſhould religion be at variance with morality, as might be the caſe, in the inſtance of a Catholic adminiſtering the public affairs of Ireland, a Proteſtant ſtate.

moſt ſacred engagements, if contrary to, or not coinciding with the intereſts of their church, are by that church diſſolved, and declared void.

If we wiſhed to enter into ſuch a contract with them, it could not be; they are incapable of ſo contracting; they are not free agents; there is no reciprocal tie, pledge, or ſecurity—individuals might be inclined to keep good faith; but there is an abſolute controuling power, which iſſues its mandates, and enforces obedience, wielding Heaven and Hell in either hand. We could not expect ſecurity on the ſcore of gratitude. Their firſt ſucceſs would be aſcribed to God's direct interference in favour of the holy church; it would be conſidered impious, not to improve ſo fortunate a beginning, and us they would look on as dementated, and devoted victims. It may be aſked, on what grounds I reſt my aſſertions? My anſwer is—on the principles, ſacred and political, character, ſpirit, and acts of the Romiſh church, its paſtors and votaries, as handed down to us by hiſtory, from early ages to the preſent time; and thoſe principles, as the Catholic theologiſts themſelves tell us, can never change. Dr. Huſſey, the titular Biſhop of Waterford, tells us, in his paſtoral letter, "that the Catholic faith is ſuitable to all climes, ages, and forms of government—* and that it is immutable." The fouleſt atrocities ever yet perpetrated under the directing ſuperſtition of the Romiſh church, in the moſt remote ages, are at this day defended and ſupported by the writings of the Catholic Divines, as

* The pains taken by the Catholic Biſhops of Ireland, in their late publications, to ſhew that the Popiſh religion is not incompatible with republicaniſm, has been much and deſervedly remarked.

as infallibly juſt and * right—the church cannot err. Into this abyſs, morality, charity, truth, mercy, and all the virtues are precipitated and loſt. Every vice becomes a virtue, when exerciſed to promote the intereſts of the holy religion. It would be diſguſting to trace this truth through all the horrors, cruelties, plots, and maſſacres, which the page of hiſtory has recorded. I have been told, by ſome of the liberal enlightened men of the day, that they could in every inſtance, aſcribe theſe circumſtances, as they termed them, to political motives, and a train of leading events. Let me tell theſe enlightened philoſophers, that there muſt be ſome predisposing cauſe, to rouſe to action each latent and inherent vice or paſſion, whether natural or acquired. The moſt ferocious and paſſionate man may be quiet occaſionally, when not provoked; but ſhould he riſe in rage, and ſlay his brother, you might as well ſay, that it was not owing to his ferocity or paſſion, the accident being aſcribable to the leading event of the deceaſed having trod on the toe of the paſſionate man, which happened to be tender. I do not find any record in hiſtory, of any other ſect, ſave the Catholics, having perſecuted and maſſacred their fellow-chriſtians, to promote the intereſts or tenets

* As an example, among ſeveral others, I refer to a pamphlet publiſhed in London, in the year 1795, printed for Coghlan, Duke-ſtreet, Groſvenor-ſquare, by the Rev. John Milner, a Popiſh Prieſt, and entitled, "A Reply to the Report publiſhed by the Ciſalpine Club, on the authenticity of the Proteſtation at the Britiſh Muſæum, &c. &c. in which the horrid maſſacre of the Waldenſes, in the 13th century is not only juſtified, but mentioned as an act of piety and exalted faith. One million of people were murdered, becauſe they did not adhere to all the Popiſh tenets and ceremonies—and that under a commiſſion from his Holineſs the Pope."

tenets of their own particular church; and it is very unfortunate that thoſe leading events have excluſively urged the Catholics to religious maſſacres and cruelties.

The Catholics in different climes, and in different ages, could not poſſibly, as a body, have ſimilar natural propenſities to cruelty, they are and muſt be, like all other men, good and bad, it therefore follows, that thoſe enormities, *can only be* aſcribed to the pernicious and intolerant ſyſtem and doctrines of the Popiſh ſuperſtition.—* I think I have eſtabliſhed my grounds on the beſt poſſible foundation, proof deduced from facts recorded, and open to the reſearch of every one. That the Romiſh Church has loſt nothing of its principles, character, influence or effect in this kingdom, the horrible tranſactions in Wexford, and indeed in almoſt all the diſturbed counties, during the late rebellion, afford melancholy proofs.—† The Popedom is overthrown, but

* In corroboration, I give the following extract from a decree of the 4th Council of Lateran, A. D. 1215—ſuch decrees, are by the Romiſh Church, held to be infallible and irreverſible:——

"Heretics to be exterminated by the ſword, and their properties confiſcated. All ſecular powers obliged to bind themſelves by an oath, to extirpate hereties—any temporal Prince refuſing to do ſo, to be Excommunicated, and deprived of his dominions. All Catholics taking up arms to extirpate heretics, ſhall have eternal ſalvation.——The Romiſh Biſhops are enjoined on oath on their inauguration, binding them to promote and enlarge the authority of their Lord the Pope, and to impugn and perſecute all heretics."———Such being the theory, we cannot wonder at the practice.

† To ſhew the ſpirit which influenced the Catholics, during the rebellion, I tranſcribe the following notice, which was poſted on the Churches of Weſtmeath and Longford, in Auguſt laſt, when the Papiſts of thoſe counties roſe, to co-operate with the French troops under Humbert. who were then traverſing the country:—

"Take

but the Papal ſpirit ſtill pervades the world, the Papal genius never ſleeps, it is always watchful, enterpriſing, encroaching, and inſatiable, wherever it gains any power, or footing, it never reſts whilſt there is any thing remaining to be had, it muſt have all. It is that encroaching ſpirit we have to dread, and guard againſt. I remember that a few years ago, the Catholics of this kingdom declared, they would be fully ſatisfied with the grant of certain privileges—and obtaining thoſe, they would never aſk further—they have ſince obtained all and more than they then required, and now they advance new claims. So would it be *ad infinitum*, until all power were excluſively their own. It has always been a principle of the Romiſh Church, not to be ſcrupulous about the means, provided the end was the advancement of the holy religion; a ſtrict adherence to this practice has been ſtrongly exemplified by the Iriſh Catholics, who firſt leagued themſelves with the Preſbyterians, a ſect of Proteſtants, whom they always have deteſted more than thoſe of the eſtabliſhed Church, and then called into their aid the atheiſtical legions of France; the overthrow of a bad government, reform and republicaniſm, were then the avowed objects of this heterogeneous confederacy; but it is well known, that an underplot was formed by the Catholics, who being

"Take notice, *heretics*, *uſurpers*, that the brave ſlaves of this Iſland will no longer lie in bondage—the die is thrown—our deliverers are come—and the Royal brute who held the iron rod of deſpotic tyranny, is expiring—nor ſhall *one* govern——*Our holy old Religion* ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed in *this houſe*, and the earth ſhall no longer be burthened with *bloody heretics*, who, under the pretence of rebellion, which they themſelves have raiſed, mean to maſſacre us.——Revenge! Revenge! Revenge!

The Flower De Luce, and Harp we will diſplay,
While tyrant heretics ſhall mould to clay!

being the majority, hoped, when the government was extinguiſhed, that they, the rightful inheritors, ſhould re-poſſeſs the uſurped lands, * and that they ſhould be able to reſtore their old and holy religion to its ancient ſupremacy. I think the Proteſtants of Ireland having theſe records, and this experience before them, muſt be ſtrangely infatuated indeed, ſhould they heſitate a moment to refuſe a participation of power to the Catholics, who would, as I have ſhewn, uſe that power to the ſubverſion of our Conſtitution and eſtabliſhment. And for theſe reaſons, and not from the motives which you, Sir, have been pleaſed to aſcribe to us, do the Orangemen of Ireland oppoſe the grant of further immunities to the Catholics. I do lament it as a great misfortune, that the State cannot with ſafety to its exiſtence, command and profit by the entire attachment, energy, and ſervices of ſo many of its ſubjects; would to God it were otherwiſe! every individual in the kingdom would then gain additional ſecurity to his rights and property, Ireland would

* It ſeems to be a principle of the Popiſh faith, that Catholics may and ought to drive out hereties from any lands or poſſeſſions, and that they have a full right to hold and enjoy ſuch lands, ſo diſpoſſeſſed—and on the other hand, that no time can ſanction the title of an heretic, to lands which had ever at any time, belonged to Catholics. All the countries of Europe have often changed their maſters and poſſeſſors. The Welſh, or Antient Bricons, have as good a claim to the greater part of the lands of England, as the native Iriſh have to thoſe of Ireland: but the claim of the Welſh, unſupported by Catholiciſm, was ſoon forgotten, that of the Iriſh has been ſeduloufly continued. We ought not to forget the Map of the antient Catholic holdings, advertiſed for the inſpection of thoſe concerned, a few months prior to the breaking out of the rebellion—The maxim that

Nullum tempus occurrit eccleſiæ

ſeems to be with the Romaniſts, as well eſtabliſhed, as the maxim of our law is with us, that—

Nullum tempus occurrit regi.

would become a nation, and the empire would be ſtrengthened. If any men or body of men ſhould from low or ſelfiſh views, oppoſe ſo great a general good, I ſhould be the firſt to pronounce them enemies to their own intereſts, and thoſe of their country.

But circumſtanced as things now are, and indeed until ſome great change ſhall happen, every true Proteſtant in both kingdoms is bound on the principle of ſelf-preſervation, as well as duty, to reſiſt further grants to the Catholics. The all-directing Providence may, in his own good time, cauſe theſe things to ceaſe, and may allow us to become brothers, and one people. As yet the proſpect is hid from us, certainly for wiſe purpoſes; But God has, within the laſt few years, ordained great changes in the world, and he has the power of effecting greater We are told, that we ſhall all yet be members of one and the ſame pure and holy religion, it would be preſumptuous to gueſs what that ſyſtem may be, revealation and a chain of events correſponding to that revealation, almoſt clearly indicate, that it cannot be the Romiſh— nor do I at all ſuppoſe, that our Reformed Church has yet reached ſuch a degree of perfection, as to become the ſtandard. But whatever it may be, coming from him, it muſt be right and good; and he may exalt the moſt humble, and put down the proud. Thus far, I have endeavoured to ſtate with as much fairneſs and truth as poſſible, the relative ſituation and principles of the Proteſtants and Catholics in this unhappy country, and I moſt ſolemnly declare that in doing this, I have not been actuated by animoſity,

or ill will.—* I did conceive myſelf bound to refute a moſt audacious calumny aimed at the Orangemen of Ireland. The defence and ſupport of my own principles, and thoſe of my brethren, againſt malicious miſrepreſentation, required that I ſhould not heſitate to ſpeak truths, which pained me in the writing, and always have pained me, when my thoughts have reſted on them—when every thing dear to us is at ſtake, a cautious delicacy would be weak and criminal. I do conſider my Catholic countrymen, as by nature endued with the ſame feelings, virtues, and paſſions, as we are, and I do proudly think that the natives of this Iſle in general, are not in natural endowments, inferior to any nation in the world; but I do lament that ſo many of my fellow-ſubjects have been ſo long enſlaved by the tyranny of a ſuperſtition, which had unfortunately too many collateral aids, which it has made uſe of to continue the diviſion and ſeparation of a people, whoſe mutual intereſts ought long ago to have made them one. I lament this moſt ſincerely, and I do ſay to the Catholic body of Ireland that the attainment of the conceſſions which you ſeem ſo eagerly to ſeek, would in all probability prove to be the greateſt evil which could befall you, it would ruin us, yourſelves, and our country; your prieſts and bigots would never give peace to you, or us; their reſtleſſneſs, ſuperſtition

* The contents and ſpirit of this work may appear to ſome, as a violation of a recognized principle of the Orange inſtitution, viz. "*not to upbraid any perſon on account of religious opinions*," my anſwer is, that this principle can be only conſidered as extending to wanton and unneceſſary upbraiding, and cannot be conſtrued as precluding vindication, or as eſtabliſhing a ſyſtem of acquieſcence under malignant accuſations. Self-preſervation and defence are natural and unalienable rights: the aggreſſor is alone anſwerable for the conſequences.

ſition, and ambition, would always embark you in new enterprizes, until Great Britain would be obliged to conquer this iſland again, * or ſubmit to its ſeparation from the empire: without the intervention of foreign aid, the conteſt could not be long doubtful, and ſhould even a ſeparation for a time, be effected by ſtrong foreign aſſiſtance, it could not be continued but by giving an eſtabliſhment to your ally, which muſt end in your ſubjugation; in either caſe, Ireland would become the ſcene of bloody and deſtructive wars, and exhauſted, waſted, and deſolated, would prove a barren compenſation to the victors. Humanity ſhudders at ſuch a frightful proſpect.

And now, Sir, ſuffer me to advert to ſome paſſages of your Memoire as you are pleaſed to term it, really if you had not given it a name, I ſhould have been much at a loſs how to refer it; I ſhould have claſſed it among the non-deſcripts. You diſcover to us pretty clearly in your 15th and 16th pages, that the Catholics would conſider it as a grievance left unredreſſed, and that the plan of the Union could not be complete, without the admiſſion of the Catholics to full political power and privileges, and conſequently to ſeats in the Imperial Legiſlature, this though not expreſſed in direct words, is ſtrongly inſinuated, but all doubt of your meaning is removed by ſubſequent parts of your Memoire, particularly in your 35th page. On the firſt reading, the audacity of the pretenſions aſtoniſhed

* Should ſuch a neceſſity ever occur, no true loyal Iriſh Proteſtant could heſitate a moment, to join the ſtandard of his King, againſt rebels, hating his Government, reſiſting his authority, and to ſum up all, leaguing with his and our inveterate foreign enemy.

niſhed me, as much as the Jeſuitical ſlyneſs under which they are introduced, provoked me.

I always did feel it as the ſtrongeſt inducement and argument in favour of an Union—that thereby, the Proteſtant intereſt would be conſolidated, and our eſtabliſhment ſecured from encroachment, that the Catholics of Ireland would neceſſarily ſit down in acquieſcence, the object of their wiſhes being placed beyond their reach; but it ſeems I had yet a leſſon to learn, and further experience to gain, of the inſatiability, perſeverance, and encroachment of the Papal ſect, and genius.

Some of the beſt and wiſeſt men of England have of late expreſſed in their ſpeeches and writings apprehenſions of the plots and reſtleſs ſpirit of Popery, even in regard to England, where its power and influence is comparatively ſmall; this new aim at encroachment, proves that their fears have not been vain, it alſo ſhews a co-operation between the Engliſh and Iriſh Catholics; ſuch diſcoveries may rouſe the common ſenſe of both countries.

From your 19th page I tranſcribe this ſentence:—"*The Government in combination with a part of the people, may, ſo far as phyſical force confers authority, impoſe reſtrictions on the Catholics; but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children.*" This is the moſt laboured and pompous ſcrap of nonſenſe I have ever met with. I will conſtrue this curious morceau, and illuſtrate its blundering abſurdity:—Government you ſay, combined with a part of the people, the majority, meaning the Proteſtants—form the phyſical force of the country—and may, ſo far as that phyſical force confers authority, impoſe reſtrictions on the Catholics, the majority—who by your antitheſis, muſt neceſſarily be conſidered

dered, as forming the artificial force of the country—but Ireland will pine over the dungeon of her children. I need ſcarce point out to any reader, that a minority governing a country muſt be termed an artificial force—and that numbers conſtitute *phyſical* or *natural* force—And this from the learned Catholic advocate, Mr. M'Kenna. Pray, Sir, was your underſtanding loſt in your religious zeal—or bewildered in the labyrinth of your own ſubtlety? or did you wiſh, by ſimulating a confuſion of ideas, to prevent any miſtake, as to your being legitimately an Iriſhman? But let me reſcue this paſſage from the confuſion which envelopes it, and give to it the only meaning to which it can be reconciled—it is a ſort of oracular prediction, and it would be a pity to have it miſunderſtood or loſt—

> Talibus ex ady to dictis Cumœa Sibylla,
> Horrendas canit ambages, antroque remugit
> Obſcuris vera involvens.

Let me interpret it thus: Government and the Proteſtants may, for a time, oppreſs and reſtrict the Catholics; but they will not acquieſce; they will be always ready on every opportunity to rebel againſt an uſurping and unnatural Government, and to aſſert that ſuperiority in this kingdom, which they claim from God and Nature. Analogy may ſerve to explain further.—Biſhop Huſſey, in his Paſtoral letter, page 10, ſays, "*The vaſt rock is already detached from the mountain's brow, and whoever oppoſes its deſcent, and removal, muſt be cruſhed by his own raſh endeavours.*"

endeavours."—* If my explanation of the ſentence extracted from your Memoire, is right, I will leave it to the reader whether moſt to admire at the abſurdity of the compoſition, or the wicked bigotry of the ſentiment.

In a note to your 20th page, you ſay, "*What numbers during the late diſturbances, would not believe the evidence of their ſenſes, that every Papiſt was not a rebel! How many were ſadly chagrined at the propriety with which the perſons of property of the Romiſh communion acted!*" To this I anſwer, that the rebellion having very ſoon after its commencement, aſſumed the appearance of an holy inſurrection, being even ſo termed in one of the French Councils—and ſo many cruelties being committed by Catholics on Proteſtants—it is not wonderful, that generally every Papiſt ſhould be ſuſpected; and this ſuſpicion was further encreaſed, by numberleſs inſtances of detected treachery among thoſe Catholics who were in the military ranks—I ſay generally, becauſe I ſhould be ſorry to think, that there are not individuals of that communion, who have, from a ſenſe of honour, adhered to their allegiance and duty, as yeomen and ſoldiers—and where ſo likely to find ſuch, as among the higher ranks.

In your 23d page, you ſay, "*That the penalties againſt Catholics ought to be repealed, if it were only to diſcountenance the Orange faction, by ſhewing the error and impotence of the aſſociation. The meaſure would*

* Notwithſtanding the threats of the learned Mr. M'Kenna, and the polemic Biſhop, I will venture to ſay, that if all the Proteſtants of Ireland would act with unanimity, they would ſtill maintain that ſuperiority over the Catholics, which was manifeſted by their anceſtors.——What could mobbiſh numbers avail againſt the ſuperior knowledge, ſkill, courage and reſources of the Proteſtants? This has been ſo often proved, that further demonſtration is unneceſſary.

would be popular. and acceptable." Are you ſerious, Mr. M'Kenna, in recommending to any Adminiſtration, ſo great an innovation, to call it no more, merely for the ſake of a tretful and peeviſh experiment—to ſee how the Orangemen would look, when diſcountenanced. Surely you either conſider the men in power, as fools, or you mean to inſult them. The meaſure of emancipation would, in your opinion, be popular and acceptable; ſo would the eſtabliſhment of Popery in Ireland, in all its antient tyranny, becauſe the Catholics are the populace, and to them it would be acceptable.——Doctor M'Nevin and others have ſaid, that Catholic emancipation, as it was called, was not an object really and ſeriouſly ſought after. I think you and the Doctor are both right; and thus I reconcile the ſeeming contradiction. I do believe, that the Catholics who were engaged in the rebellious confederacy, before the inſurrection actually took place, were very indifferent as to any conceſſions which could be made to them by a Proteſtant Parliament. They hoped ſoon to be maſters of all, by a ſhort and leſs incumbered mode—they expected to eſtabliſh themſelves on the ruins of our Government, Conſtitution, and Religion. They have been vanquiſhed, and diſappointed, and would now gladly accept from us, that participation of political power, which they before diſdained, and that merely for the purpoſe of making the next effort with increaſed ſtrength, and under better auſpices. Like wiſe Generals failingin the ſtorm of the citadel, they wiſh to make a lodgment in the body of the work, and there cover themſelves, waiting the opportunity of another aſſault.

In

In your 24th page you ſay, " *If every Catholic in Ireland had been a rebel, it ought to make no difference.*"*

And again, " *If even ſuch were the caſe, the moment of victory would be the critical time to make the conceſſion. What might in the laſt year have been injudicious, as liable to be repreſented a puſillanimous compromiſe, might at this day be compliment, and heroic ſacrifice.*" Bravo, Sir! moſt excellent and high-ſounding rhodomantade! You ſhift your ground, and change your mode of attack, with admirable dexterity. You are a very Proteus.

Dr. Huſſey and you have menaced and frightened us with rocks and mountains, with dungeons, and phyſical force. Forgetting, or pretending to forget, that the civil and religious code was introduced by the great William, moulded and blended together, forming one indiviſible eſtabliſhment in Church and State; you have dared to ridicule this Conſtitution, and by ſplitting its founder in two, you affect to praiſe one ſide of the heroes mutilated image,

* The exceſs of generoſity recommended by Mr. M'Kenna, might ſub modo, be applicable to a common caſe of rebellion, ariſing from popular effervescence, or entered into in ſupport of, or reſiſtance to, a definite object, in its nature not abſolutely inadmiſſible, or irreconcileable to the public ſafety. But we cannot forget, that the Catholics of this kingdom have during the late, and every foregoing inſurrection, plainly manifeſted, that their deſigns fell nothing ſhort of the total extermination of the Proteſtants:—Under theſe circumſtances, conceſſions can only ſerve to ſtrengthen, not diſarm rebellion—the ſeeds and principles of which, muſt be, in the minds of Iriſh Catholics, co-exiſtent, and co-eval with the political and natural exiſtence of Iriſh Proteſtants. No equality or participation of civil privileges can cauſe theſe evils to ceaſe—From time only, can we expect a remedy. In the interim, ſelf-preſervation demands vigilance.

intage, that you may defame and vilify the other, by comparing it to John Wesley, or any other fanatic—you have endeavoured to divide the Proteſtants, by rouſing thoſe who are not Orangemen, againſt thoſe who are—and you call upon the former, to make conceſſions to the Catholics, to ſpite the latter—You now cajole us, and try to perſuade us, that having fought for our Conſtitution and Religion, and having conquered, that it would be magnanimous in the conquerors, to ſurrender to the conquered—and having proved our courage, to give up all pretenſions to ſanity or common ſenſe. It ſhews not ſtrength of intellect, to undervalue too much that of others. Did you, Sir, imagine you were addreſſing fools or Quixottes; and on this ground you declare you are at iſſue with the Orangemen—I think the verdict ought to be *non compos*.

Your addreſs to the Orangemen in the next page, about eſpionage, is too vague in its application to be underſtood, and too contemptible to be anſwered. I ſuppoſe the word was introduced, to ſhew your travel, and foreign education—by the bye, I have always underſtood, that ſuch education as our countrymen uſually receive in the Jeſuit Colleges abroad, peculiarly qualifies them to become adepts in the ſyſtem of eſpionage.*

You next labour to prove that the Catholics, as ſuch, had not any thing to do with the rebellion—and that the Catholic rebels were combated by Catholic

* The eaſy verſatility with which Mr. M'Kenna has changed his opinions, and his parties; and the good account to which he has turned his knowledge of the ſecret movements of adverſe Cabinets, may ſerve as an example of the peculiar benefits, attending an education under maſters ſo expert in the ſyſtem alluded to. *Caveat Emptor.*

Catholic militia regiments, Catholic noblemen, gentlemen, farmers, &c It is painful and unpleaſant to be under the neceſſity of renewing paſt grievances; but as you have provoked and challenged the detail, I muſt not flinch from it. In my turn I ſay, Sir, on this ground, I am at iſſue with you—As to the Catholic militia ſoldiers, many, I am proud and happy to acknowledge, did their duty like brave men; the conduct of the Limerick regiment ſtands particularly conſpicuous.—* Some regiments have afforded ſhameful and melancholy inſtances to the contrary. It is a delicate point—I do not wiſh to inſiſt on it—I will only obſerve, that ſoldiers taken from their families, removed from their early obſervances and habits, and placed in a mixed ſociety of ſtrangers, under a ſtrict ſyſtem of ſubordination and obedience, muſt ſoon forget their local and religious prejudices; and the latter ſooner, perhaps, than any other. I have often heard old officers ſay, that the Iriſh Catholics became the better ſoldiers, the further and the longer they were removed from home. I am ſure, had not uncommon pains been taken to miſlead them, that all the Iriſh militia regiments would have done their duty, with fidelity and bravery. We can better form an opinion of the part the Catholics took in the late rebellion, by recurring to the conduct of the Catholic yeomen—men better educated, and of better ſituation than the militia ſoldiers—men who were or ought to have been free agents, who took up voluntarily the arms of their Sovereign (a Sovereign whom they had recently and publicly acknowledged as

* For the ſenſe of gratitude which the Orange ſocieties entertained towards the brave and loyal Catholic ſoldiers of the Limerick regiment, I refer to Appendix, No. 2.

as their greateſt benefactor), and who bound themſelves by a voluntary and ſolemn oath, to uſe thoſe arms in his defence, and that of his Government. How they fulfilled that obligation, is lamentable to conſider: what a diſguſting picture of perfidy and perjury was diſcloſed, ſhortly after the inſurrection took place! I ſpeak of the city of Dublin: it was diſcovered that nine-tenths of the Catholics in the yeomanry corps, were United Iriſhmen, and had taken an oath to be true to the rebels, in direct contradiction to their ſworn allegiance—* and that many of them, after taking the United oath, had, on a principle of deliberate and pre-determined perjury, joined yeomanry corps, for the purpoſe of getting arms into their hands, learning the uſe of them, and turning them againſt us, perhaps in the very

* I ſelect the following inſtances out of many:---In one company of the Rotunda Diviſion Infantry, there were at the breaking out of the rebellion, in May laſt, twenty-two private yeomen, Catholics, of theſe, fourteen were proved to be ſworn United Iriſhmen, ſome of them deeply concerned in the plans of inſurrection, and maſſacre, ſix others were diſarmed on ſuſpicion of the ſtrongeſt kind, ſo that two only remained faithful out of twenty-two. All theſe men had frequently and anxiouſly endeavoured to introduce ſeveral of their friends into the corps, inſomuch as to produce ſtrong diſſentions in the company. They were at laſt told, that no man would be ballotted for as a new member, who was not known and approved of by the Captain.

The Popiſh yeomen of the St. Sepulchre's corps, conſpired to aſſaſſinate their Proteſtant fellow ſoldiers, who were the minority of that corps.

Every one has heard of the infamous treachery of Kearney, a Popiſh yeoman of the Merchants' corps of Infantry, who planned the deſtruction of a detachment of his corps, ſerving as an eſcort to military ſtores and ammunition, from Dublin to Naas: he had concerted with the rebels, to draw the detachment into an ambuſcade, planted in a wood a little removed from the road, but providentially the plan failed.—— It is obſervable that this man is now at large, walking through the ſtreets of the metropolis.

very moment of attack. The conſequences might have been horrible, had they not been prevented by a timely diſcovery. If any of the projected nightly attacks had taken place, the loyal yeoman, rouſed from his bed, would have treacherouſly fallen by the bayonets of thoſe whom he might haſten to join, as friends and fellow ſoldiers. It is remarkable, that in the city of Dublin above two thouſand Catholics were deſirous of admittance into the ſeveral yeomanry corps, during the ſix weeks immediately preceding the inſurrection—and that moſt of theſe were propoſed by Catholic yeomen, who afterwards either proved to be rebels or were diſarmed on ſtrong ſuſpicion.

Theſe facts are notorious, and recent; they are open to inveſtigation, and if not founded, may be diſproved. Of the Catholic yeomen in the country, I can only ſpeak by hearſay * report has not been generally more favourable to them, than to their brethren in the city. Can any man heſitate to what he ſhould aſcribe ſuch ſhocking violation of faith

* For proofs and ſtatements as to the conduct of the Papiſts in ſeveral of the country corps of yeomanry, I refer to a pamphlet, containing a conciſe account of ſome of the principal incidents of the rebellion.—*By Veridicus*; " the ſtatements I allude to, will be found in the 60th and 61ſt pages,—I cannot help adding that the work of Veridicus, is well worth the public attention, it diſplays a knowledge of ancient hiſtory, an accuracy, and reſearch, which do much honor to the Author,—In ſhort the buyer of that pamphlet gets for one ſhilling and ſix pence, (beſides the ſtatement of recent and local circumſtances) hiſtorical information, of an intereſting and curious nature, which could not be collected but by a perſon of knowledge and ſkill, and with the labour of months.

and

and morality? You, Sir, have acknowledged that there were twenty-five Prieſts actually and openly leaders of the rebels * pretty well this—and of the formidable remainder, conſiſting, by your calculation, of two thouſand four hundred and ſeventy-five—how many fomented and encouraged the rebellion ſecretly? and were, as Dr. M'Neven and others of the principal traitors declared, moſt active agents in forwarding the cauſe. I do conceive, that the circumſtance of ſo many as twenty-five Prieſts acting openly as leaders of the rebels—conſidering the character, habits of life, and education of Romiſh

* I have taken the number of twenty-five Romiſh Prieſts, as actively concerned in the rebellion, from Mr. M'Kenna's, own calculation, merely for the ſake of argument—the fact unqueſtionably is, that above twenty-five Prieſts were openly and actively concerned in the rebellion, in the County of Wexford alone; and nearly as many more in the County Mayo.—In the County of Wexford, fourteen Prieſts have been killed in battle, hanged, tranſported, or become fugitives, in conſequence of acts done during, and in furtherance of, the rebellion—For the conduct of the Biſhop and the Popiſh Clergy of Wexford in general, I refer to *Veridicus*," before quoted—I do not heſitate to ſay that the rebellion is principally aſcribable to the Romiſh Clergy of Ireland—They are the living repoſitories, and liberal retailers of thoſe diabolical tenets, which looſen the bonds of Society, morality, and allegiance.

Were it not for the prevalence and influence of Popery in Ireland, conſpiracy could not find materials whereon to work, nor could the ranks of rebellion be filled.—To illuſtrate this—Eight hundred conſpirators, Catalines, deſperadoes, have been found in the great metropolis of England—they probably all aimed at becoming Directors, Miniſters, Generals, &c. but they had not a people to work on, and therefore they projected bringing an army of fifty thouſand aſſaſſins from Ireland.—No body of Engliſhmen could be perſuaded to enter into a deliberate ſyſtem of murder—but to ſatisfy the Iriſh Papiſts, it was deemed ſufficient that the victims, though perfect ſtrangers and innocent as to them were heretics, *Vide the Report of the Secret Committee of the Britiſh Commons.*

Prieſts

Prieſts—forms a ſtrong proof of the warm intereſt their body at large took in the rebellion *. As to individual noblemen and gentlemen, a ſenſe of honour might keep them true to their engagements. As I before have mentioned, ſuch men muſt be averſe to treachery in the field; but had matters taken a more decided turn, it would have been hard to expect even from them more than neutrality.

In your 29th page you make your Catholic claimant ſay "*that the diſqualification of which he complains, affords no additional ſecurity to the church, that its pillars are, the connexion with Britain, and the balance of property.*" *That he does not deſire the aggrandiſement of his fellow religioniſts as a body, but that there ſhould not be any obſtacle, in the way of any individual of that communion, to puſh to the utmoſt extent they are capable, the advantages of birth and fortune, talents and induſtry,*"—I do agree with Mr. M'Kenna, that the connexion with Britain, and the balance of property in the hands of Iriſh Proteſtants, are pillars of the church—but I do ſay that by granting to the Catholics the means of acquiring full political power, both thoſe pillars would be undermined, and the whole fabric of the conſtitution endangered, if not overthrown.—I have already in this work pointed out many of the dangers to which ſuch a meaſure would expoſe us, I will examine it more cloſely.—The deſcendants of the Britiſh coloniſts ſettled in Ireland, compoſing not quite a third of

* The tenets and principles of the Romiſh church ſeem to have been perverted, and ſtrained to the utmoſt pitch of extravagance by ſome of the Prieſts, to encourage the rebels. See Appendix No. 4.

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the population, but poſſeſſing nine-tenths of the lands of the kingdom, are connected with Britain by conſanguinity, by a ſimilarity of laws, cuſtoms, manners, language and religion, by mutual intereſts, and mutual (on the part of the coloniſts more than mutual) dependency—all theſe are cemented and ſtrengthened by the identity of the crown, and allegiance to a common ſovereign. The barbarous Iriſh natives had always conſidered the firſt Engliſh ſettlers with jealouſy and diſlike, and for a conſiderable time maintained a ſavage independence; at the acceſſion of Queen Elizabeth, above four hundred years after the firſt ſettlement, we find the dominion of the Engliſh little more than nominal.—The Reformation in England formed a new obſtacle to the tranquillity of the country. The old oppoſition of manners, laws, and intereſts was now inflamed by religious antipathy. The Iriſh ſtupidly and ignorantly attached to the Romiſh ſuperſtition joined in a general inſurrection againſt the Engliſh power. After much trouble and blood-ſhed, they were compleatly ſubdued. The wiſeſt meaſures followed the putting down of this rebellion. Proteſtant colonies from England and Scotland were planted in the forfeited lands, which ſerved at the ſame time to ſecure the Engliſh power, to improve the country, and to give to the natives an example of civilization and induſtry. Forty years of peace and harmony produced the beſt effects as to improvement and civilization.

The old diſtinctions ſeemed to be wearing away—but the calm was deceitful—religious animoſity lay feſtering in their minds, and an opportunity offering from the diſturbed ſtate of England in 1641, the Iriſh Catholics roſe at once, and maſſacred all the Proteſtants they could come at, to the number

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of above 40,000 *. It is remarkable, that ſeveral of the old Engliſh ſettlers, ſtill attached to the Popiſh religion, joined the Iriſh, and at leaſt equalled their atrocities during this maſſacre; forty ſeven years of viciſſitudes, diſturbance and forfeitures, were next ſucceeded by the rebellion of 1688, alſo ſpringing out of an inviolable attachment to Popery; its conſequences were the code of penal laws, and freſh forfeitures. The diſcontents of the Iriſh from that period to the preſent, have been diſplayed by a ſucceſſion of petty inſurrections, under different forms and pretexts, but all of religious aſpect,

The repeal of the penal code, in 1793 had not the deſired effect of conciliation. We find in the atrocities of 1798, a revival of 1641. This melancholy detail forcibly ſhews the rooted averſion of the Iriſh Catholics to Britiſh connexion. A ſenſe of their own intereſts muſt in time have reconciled them to England, had they not been eſtranged by the more potent influence of religious hatred. Nor have late events evinced any diminution of its rancour. As to the ſecurity given to the Church eſtabliſhment, by the balance of property in the hands of Proteſtants, it certainly, as it now ſtands, is conſiderable and important; but it is not a ſecurity permanent, or independent; it requires aids to its exiſtence and effect. In a commercial and riſing country, like this, property is always ſhifting, and in the courſe of time, the balance of property as well

* At this period, the Iriſh did not labour under the privation of any civil privileges—Reſtrictions on Catholics did not exiſt until after the Revolution in 1688. So that the maſſacre in 1641 is ſolely aſcribable to religious fury. This circumſtance duly conſidered and kept in mind, will give additional force to many pages of this work.

well as numbers, may be found in the hands of Catholics. Should things remain as they now are, the time neceſſary to produce ſuch a change, would probably remove all danger to be apprehended from it. The repeal of the few Catholic diſqualifications would in my opinion, much and prematurily haſten ſuch a Revolution in property. Various conſequent cauſes would combine to effect this. The Catholics poſſeſs a conſiderable part of the floating capital of this kingdom, ambition and other motives would induce them to lay out that capital in the purchace of lands. Nor would opportunities be wanting. I am confident that many Proteſtants would on ſuch an event, ſell their properties in Ireland, and remove to England. There are ſeveral families particularly in the Weſt and South of Ireland, holding conſiderable landed property, whoſe anceſtors were Catholics, but the deſcendants have from motives of convenience and intereſt, nominally conformed to the eſtabliſhed religion; with many of theſe, the cauſe being removed, the effect would ceaſe; they would return to the boſom of the Catholic church, and thus bring at once a conſiderable weight into the ſcale of Catholic property * the high lucrative ſituations which would be opened to them, would alſo have ſome effect as to property, but much more as to power. By all theſe means, a predominancy might be ob-

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* It is not unuſual in ſome parts of this kingdom, that the prieſt ſhould be ſeen quitting the houſe of the Squire and the Magiſtrate, on a Sunday, by the back door, after officiating to his family, whilſt the owner of the manſion approached the front door, on his return from the Proteſtant church, where he attended, pro forma.

tained by the Catholics, in the Legiſlative bodies, particularly in the commons houſe, and thus all other ſafeguards being given up, the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment would reſt ſolely on the ſupport of a Proteſtant King: a difference of views and ſentiments on the momentous point of religion would neceſſarily embroil that king with his parliament. Diſcord among the component parts of government, would unhinge the ſtate, produce civil war, and oblige us again to eſtabliſh our aſcendancy by arms. Thoſe who may conceive this reaſoning ſtrained, and the picture overcharged, muſt deduct conſiderably from my eſtimate of Catholic zeal, and give a much ampler credit, than I am inclined to do, to Catholic tolerance and moderation.

Under theſe circumſtances, I do conceive that claims of the Catholics to further privileges are inadmiſſible, and that the ſafety of the church eſtabliſhment, and the connexion with Britain depend on the Proteſtant aſcendancy, conſiſting of a Proteſtant houſe of Lords, a Proteſtant Houſe of Commons, a Proteſtant King aided by a Proteſtant Council, and exerciſing the judicial and higher executive functions, by Proteſtant Judges and Miniſters, who are in their reſpective departments, the repreſentatives and deputies of Majeſty—after this diſcuſſion of the principle, the remainder of what I have quoted, as advanced by your Catholic claimant, need not be combated by argument, but may deſerve ſome remarks—He ſays "*That he does not deſire the aggrandizement of his fellow religioniſts as a body; but that theſe ſhould be no obſtacle in the way of individuals, &c. &c.*" I think my detail of the character and principles of the Romiſh Church and its votaries, ſhews it to be impoſſible, that Catholics could ſit down contented with civil and perſo-

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nal advantages alone, neglecting the advancement of their clergy, and the aggrandiſement of their religion There ſeems to me to be much of ſophiſtry, in the manner in which this poſition is brought forward; Mr. M'Kenna ingeniouſly endeavours to point our attention to the claims of abſtracted individuals, and to make us forget the great body of which they are members. This mode of conſidering things, if carried far enough, would certainly go to the levelling of all diſtinctions. Such a theory would ſet up mere natural rights on the ruins of all municipal proviſions, and at once deſtroy the eſſence as well as neceſſity of civil government —I am ſure the great body of the Catholics could not have been brought to act as they have done, and exert themſelves ſo ſtrenuouſly for an extenſion of privileges, which at beſt, could only comprehend ſome few perſons, if they had not entertained views, beyond the aggrandizement of individuals.—I have always conſidered Catholic emancipation, as it was termed, either as a pretext to cloak ſedition, or as meaning ſomething, not expreſſed by its uſual definition, and I have been confirmed in this opinion. by obſerving that the claſs of Catholics on whom the advantages of the required privileges would excluſively devolve, have always appeared to be the leaſt forward in their endeavours to attain them.—This object could never have been ſo violently and perſeveringly purſued by claimants, apparently ſo little intereſted, if the energetic Romaniſts, who have ſo lately guided the catholic body, had not pointed out conſequences leading to more general advantages. The zeal with which multitudes devoted themſelves to the cauſe, can only be imputed to religious enthuſiaſm. The late

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rebellion reſembled more a cruſade, than a ſtruggle for civil privileges,—Extirpation and not participation ſeemed to be its object,

For theſe reaſons, I cannot believe that the "*Catholic claimant*" merely ſeeks to remove civil diſqualification from individuals, without deſiring the aggrandiſement of his "*fellow religioniſts*" as a body. In your 30th page you ſay "*So far as my obſervation extends, the reflecting Catholics of this country never entertained a wiſh to give an eſtabliſhment to their clergy.*" Were I to take this ſentence according to its literal meaning, I ſhould be obliged to declare a doubt, as to the ſincerity of your declaration. But fortunately a recollection and compariſon of circumſtances reſcues me from that neceſſity, and enables me to reconcile my belief by applying a more liberal conſtruction. By the words "*reflecting Catholics*" I muſt ſuppoſe you mean philoſophers of the new ſchool, illuminated Painites—I am helped to this conſtruction and induced to adopt it by what fell from Dr. M'Nevin, "*a reflecting Catholic*" on his examination before the ſecret committee, he ſaid, that Catholic emancipation was a mere pretext; and that he would as ſoon think of a Mahometan as of a Catholic eſtabliſhment.—Had the leading conſpirators openly avowed ſuch a ſentiment, the ranks of rebellion could never have been filled.

The poetic picture * preſented in the note to your 31ſt page, is certainly more to be remarked for the

* The ſtanza quoted by Mr. M'Kenna, runs thus:—
"See their clergy march before them,
With their ſacred veſtments o'er them;
Sprinkling them with holy water,
And calling on to blood and ſlaughter."

the exactneſs and truth of its delineation, as an hiſtoric piece, than for the pleaſing choice of the ſubject, or the delicacy of the colouring. Some things and perſons, when faithfully repreſented, become diſguſting, and may be miſtaken for caricatures.

Your 32d page goes to tell us, "*That Catholics are men conſtituted as we are, and that forbearance under any reſtrictions, is not to be expected from them.*" This argument comes red hot from the ſchool of the new philoſophy, and the rights of man. You launch boldly into innovation, forgetting all the former ties, rules, and reſtrictions of every civilized country in Europe. Pray, Sir, in what Catholic ſtate of Europe, does a Proteſtant enjoy half the privileges, which a Catholic now enjoys in the Proteſtant ſtate of Ireland? Certainly in none. Or in what Proteſtant ſtate of Europe, does a Catholic enjoy ſo many immunities as in Ireland: And where, I may add, have conceſſions met with ſo ungrateful a return?

We may clearly infer from your 35th and 37th pages, that the Catholics, on the event of an Union, lay the ſame claim to admiſſion into the imperial, as they now do into the Iriſh Legiſlature; and in the advancement of ſuch their claims, you without heſitation get over all difficulties, by bold and unqualified aſſertions, unſupported by argument, and in contradiction to principles long eſtabliſhed. "*You deny that any new parliamentary teſt oath ſhould be framed, to admit the juriſdiction of the Pope.*" And you as lightly get over the omiſſion of the oath of ſupremacy; ſuch an oath being totally unneceſſary. "*As the juriſdiction of the Pope is as clearly aſcertained as the juriſdiction of the Court of King's Bench, and would not be let in on temporal points, by omitting*

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the oaths which assert the King's Ecclesiastical supremacy," &c. This is a most extraordinary assertion, and is contradicted by experience, and history, which shews, that in all countries, and during all ages, Popery has never failed, wherever it got footing, to intermeddle with, and embroil every thing temporal as well as spiritual, on one pretence or other; and the history of England, in particular, proves this in the strongest manner, even to the dethronement of her Kings. How can any man presume to say, that the Popish jurisdiction is as well ascertained, as that of the Court of King's Bench, when every one knows that it requires but little sophistry to implicate almost all temporal with spiritual concerns, as ultimately, directly or indirectly involving the spiritual salvation of the actors and who is to be the judge of this spiritual salvation, and temporal discrimination? That very church, whose interest and character it is, to draw every thing within the vortex of its own dominion, and to use every handle and pretext for interference and domination. The Romish clergy may squabble among themselves,* but should any laymen, or lay body interfere, the whole hive forgetting their internal disputes, would fasten on them, and sting them to death. But could even the inexpediency and impolicy of such concessions, as affecting the Protestant interest, be palliated or got over, the im-

* MrM'Kenna, in his 36th page says, "The supremacy of the Pope is practically reverential; and if they are left to themselves, no persons are more inclined than his clergy, to cavil against and restrict it." I must deny the position "that the supremacy of the Pope is practically reverential," on the contrary, I always have conceived, that originally and theoretically, it was more reverential than powerful, but by the address and intrigues of the Romish clergy, the Popedom has become in itself and itse agents practically absolute, and tyrannical.—History every where evinces this.

impractability remains, and muſt remain for ever, unſurmountable, and unalterable, at leaſt ſo long as Popery and the Britiſh conſtitution ſhall continue. I do maintain that a Catholic cannot be admitted into the Iriſh or Engliſh Legiſlative Bodies, but by a violation of the Conſtitution, as eſtabliſhed in 1688, in its very eſſence, and foundation, and by a breach of the King's coronation, oath, and alſo of the fundamental conditions of the union between Scotland and England.—* Is it poſſible, that a King of Great Britain could be ſo blind to the danger to which he would expoſe the Conſtitution he had ſworn to protect, as to aſſent to ſuch an innovation, not calling it by a ſtronger name? Or could he conſcientiouſly think, that he acted according to the obligation of his coronation oath, by knowingly and deliberately expoſing the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment to the riſque of ſo deſperate an experiment? Religious eſtabliſhment, is not the religion itſelf, but merely the mode of preſerving it, and that can only be effected, by a political connection of the religious with the civil eſtabliſhment, and this forms, what is called the Conſtitution in Church and State. I do again aſſert, that ſuch our Conſtitution cannot admit to its Legiſlative, or higher Executive functions, any man, or body of men, who deny and violate one of its

* By theſe conditions, the acts of uniformity as they then ſtood, are declared perpetual, as alſo all other acts then in force for the preſervation of the Church of England, and it is ſtipulated, that every ſubſequent King and Queen ſhall take an oath inviolably to maintain the ſame, within England, Ireland, Wales, and Berwick upon-Tweed: And it is enacted, that this act (and the act for the perpetual eſtabliſhment and maintenance of the Church of Scotland) ſhall for ever be obſerved, as fundamental, and eſſential conditions of the Union.

its vital and fundamental principles, by cherishing a foreign supremacy, and paying an implicit obedience to it, either by spiritual or temporals. And I do here contend, that this fundamental principle of the British Constitution, has been established on the surest and most unerring grounds, namely, the conviction of the many evils attending foreign spiritual interference, derived and deduced from the experience of many centuries. Were we now to separate Church and State, we would virtually declare, that the reformation and revolution were founded on bad policy, and false principles, and that the settlement of the Crown by stat. 12th and 13th W. 3d. c. 2. was an illegal usurpation. I hope and trust, that no Minister will ever be found hardy enough to bring forward such a question, in a Protestant Parliament, or so daring as to advise a King of Great Britain to give his consent to the annihilation of the title, by which he holds his Crown *.

To enter into a full historical and legal discussion of these questions, would far exceed my limits. Let me ask Mr. M'Kenna, and the Catholics, on what grounds they expect all these experiments and sacrifices in their favour? Is it because they have so well requited us for past benefits? Do they advance their claims on the score of their loyalty to their King, or their brotherly love and charity † to their Protestant fellow-subjects? Or do they come forward smeared with the blood of the Kildare, Carlow, Mayo and Wexford Protestants, and brandishing their pikes, to terrify us into concession. I cannot help saying, that there is a hardened and inde-

* The Crown of Great Britain and Ireland, is held by a tenure strictly Protestant, as are almost all the lands of Ireland.

† In several parts of Ireland, a beggar who cannot speak Irish, is driven from the doors of the Catholics, without assistance; they consider him as a *Sassona*, which word they use to express both Protestant, and seller.

cent aſſurance, in the time and form of their demands. What the heart of man could ſcarcely imagine, in the moſt peaceful and praiſeworthy times, is now uſhered in, with unbluſhing impudence, at the heels of rebellion and maſſacre. For ſhame! you ought to have ſat down rebuked, chaſtened, and grateful, for the magnanimous moderation of your victors. Inſtead of new favours and conceſſions, it might have been expected, at the eve of the late atrocious rebellion, that all former ones ſhould have been revoked and reſcinded, and that the Popiſh ſuperſtition ſhould have been at once rooted from the land, by the baniſhment of its Prieſts, and the forbiddance of the Maſs, as incompatible with true Chriſtian charity, morality, and a juſt obſervance of the laws of ſociety in a Proteſtant State. Could ſuch an event take place, without perſonal cruelty, bloodſhed, or civil diſturbance, I do not heſitate to ſay, that the Catholics of Ireland, would ultimately be greater gainers by the change, than even the Proteſtants *.

I will conclude by warning the Government againſt a practice, which has been too common among the parties of this country, namely, that of treating and parleying with the Catholics, as a political body, and making ſtalking-horſes of them, and their claims, for the purpoſe of mutual embarraſſment and vexation. This weak and wicked policy feeds, and has fed, unjuſtifiable pretenſions. This has been a ſort of game; but "*hæ nugæ ſeria ducant in mala.*"

* I do not mention this as merely theoretical. The Reformation was accompliſhed by an abſolute Monarch, for ſuch we muſt term Henry the VIIIth. Are not the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, veſted with abſolute power (which every ſtate muſt lodge ſomewhere) to as great an extent, as Henry poſſibly could be?

in mala. Is is not wiſe to ſeek hollow, unreal, and fugitive connexions, in purſuance of a ſyſtem of Machiavelian policy, thereby diſguſting and detaching thoſe whom reciprocity, congenial intereſts, and common ſenſe, indicate as the true friends of a good Government, the friends and ſupporters of the Throne, the Conſtitution, and the Laws.—May they be perpetual.

AN ORANGEMAN.

Dublin, January 14, 1799.

POSTSCRIPT.

POSTSCRIPT.

SINCE writing the foregoing letter, I have read a pamphlet on the queſtion of Union, wherein Catholics and Orangemen are introduced. Had I ſooner ſeen this production, I ſhould have given it ſome notice in the body of my work; but I muſt now confine myſelf to ſuch few remarks, as time, and the limits of a ſhort poſtſcript, will admit.

The pamphlet I allude to, is entitled, "*An impartial view of the cauſes leading this country to the neceſſity of an Union,*" &c. &c. &c. and is publicly aſcribed to a gentleman, whoſe name, though mutilated of its barbarous O, is ſtill ſufficiently indicative of Aboriginiſm, and Catholiciſm. This circumſtance may ſtrike many as not favouring the promiſe of impartiality, avowed in the title-page *,

* The motto choſen by the Author of "*An Impartial view,*" ſeems to be intended as a further earneſt of impartiality.

"*Nullius addictus, jurare in verba magiſtri.*
"*Quo me cunqae rapit tempeſtas, deferor hoſpes.*"

Let me conſtrue it.

Having formerly deſerted the Catholic church, I now belong to no other ſect; I am a Citizen of the the world, free as to my tenets and opinions.

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but let us examine how this promiſe has been kept. This gentleman gives us an hiſtory, or hiſtoric ſketch, of Engliſh and Iriſh relation, from the reformation to the preſent time; if that can be called an hiſtory, which details the injuſtice, oppreſſion, and tyranny of the Engliſh over the unfortunate natives, without fairly ſtating the circumſtances, and neceſſity, which obliged England to maintain, by ſtrong and coercive meaſures, her dominion over a ſavage and hoſtile nation, which had always diſplayed an inveterate diſlike to the Engliſh, their laws, manners, and cuſtoms, and which had renewed, whetted, and increaſed all its antient antipathies, by ſuperaded hatred and averſion to the religion then newly introduced among them, and by an obſtinate adherence to the Popiſh ſuperſtition. This gentleman ſeems to forget, that ſince England has had ſufficient reſpite from her own evils and diſturbances, to attend to the ſettlement of Ireland, that all her endeavours, and thoſe of the Proteſtant coloniſts have been counteracted, baffled, and checked by the growth and influence of Popery, which has been the real obſtacle to the peace and proſperity of their country. So much for hiſtoric impartiality *.

This O gentleman dates the Orange inſtitution ſo far back, as the year 1793 †. He ſays it was founded by ſome of the factious and diſappointed ariſto-

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* The "Impartial view," gives a moſt lame and diſtorted account of the creation of boroughs in Ireland—and from ſuch his miſrepreſentation, he draws ſeveral deductions neceſſarily falſe.—For a true account of the creation of boroughs, I refer to Dr. Duigenans, anſwer to Grattan from page 153 to page 168—the reputation of this work both in England and Ireland, ſets it far above my feeble praiſe.

† As a further anſwer to this, ſee the note to the 21ſt line of the 7th page in the former part of this pamphlet.

eracy—and that it produced the late rebellion. I do moſt poſitively deny the truth of every one of theſe ſtatements. I have in this work already ſhewn that the firſt Orange ſociety was inſtituted on the 21ſt day of September 1795, but Orange ſocieties never became ſo general, as to be worthy of political conſideration, until the year 1797, (the real date of the Orange inſtitution) when they were tranſplanted to Dublin, and when the rebellion, which he ſays they produced, was arrayed, and had even appointed a day for ruſhing into action. He has attempted to prove this charge againſt the Orangemen, by ſaying that the Catholics only rebelled in counties where they were *intimidated* into rebellion by Orangemen. I will aſk him, were there Orange ſocieties to intimidate the Catholics of Mayo * and Wexford into rebellion and maſſacre? Were there Orangemen to any intimidating amount in Wicklow, Carlow, Kildare and Kilkenny? But this gentleman, by way of clinching his proof, with triumphant exultation, quotes and reſts upon the counties of Limerick, Clare, and Galway, as patterns and examples of Catholic loyalty. Unfortunately his exultation has been ſhort lived indeed—his ink has had ſcarce time to dry on the paper, ere his proofs and their loyalty have vaniſhed, and the

* At Caſtlebar in the county Mayo, Dr. Crump, a Popiſh Phyſician, and a man of education, attended by a large body of Catholics, waited on General Humbert, who received them ſtanding at the open window of his Lodgings—Crump the ſpokeſman of the body petitioned the General to allow them one hours revenge againſt the Proteſtants for one hundred years of oppreſſion and ſignified his intentions of encloſing all the Proteſtants within the Church, and there burn them.—Humbert humanely refuſed to permit or ſanction ſuch ſavage atrocity.

ſtandard

ſtandard of rebellion has been ſeen to float over the face of thoſe *peaceable* counties *.

In contradiction to his aſſertion, that the Orange-inſtitution has grown out of factions and diſappointed ariſtocracy—I do ſay, that there never yet has been any political inſtitution, ſo completely independent, ſo purely diſintereſted, ſo ſingle in its object †, and ſo free from factious or ariſtocratic influence, as the Orange aſſociation; I am an Orangeman, I know that it muſt be ſo—no man can become an Orangeman, from impure motives, without perjury. As to this gentleman's ſtatement of Catholics lawfully proſecuting lawful claims, of Catholic firmneſs, ſteady attachment to the Conſtitution, and loyalty, I will only obſerve, that ſuch a fiction would better become a poet than an hiſtorian.

I cannot help adding, that it is remarkable how ſeldom apoſtacy from Popery extinguiſhes hereditary affection to the cauſe.

I do alſo deny, that the oaths taken by United Iriſhmen and Orangemen, are equally unlawful, under the conſtruction of the ſtatutes—as the matters to which Orangemen are bound, form no part of the gravamen, againſt which thoſe laws provide, nor could have been in the contemplation of the

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* This impartial Gentleman aſſerts (ſpeaking of the late rebellion) "*that nobody believes that it was a Catholic war.*" I do believe that it was a Catholic war—the Proteſtants of Ireland generally do believe that it was a Catholic war.—The ſecret committee of the Britiſh Houſe of Commons has conſidered it as a Catholic war.—Speaking of the United Iriſhmen, their report ſtates "*That they have acted in the profeſſed expectation of aſſiſtance from France; with the expreſs view of cooperating for the expulſion of the Proteſtants from Ireland, and the erection of a Roman Catholic Government.*"—For this extract I refer to the report itſelf as publiſhed. As a further proof ſee Appendix No. 5.

† The Orange aſſociation cannot be called generally a political inſtitution,

Legiſlature, whoſe only object was to guard againſt and ſuppreſs ſeditious conſpiracies, then exiſting. The comprehenſive penning of the ſtatute of 37th of G. 3d. was occaſioned by the dexterity ſhewn by the conſpirators in eluding the former ſtatute—which clearly appears by collating the two acts. Wherefore I conceive that a Judge of the land, before whom any man ſhould be tried for taking the Orangeman's oath, would leave it to the Jury to determine, not only as to the fact of his having taken ſuch oath, but alſo as to the tendency thereof, and the *quo animo*, of the ſwearing—all which ingredients are neceſſary to conſtitute crime. I believe no Jury could be found, hardy enough to bring in a verdict of conviction againſt any man, on the ground of the Orangeman's oath, which goes ſolely to the ſupport of the King and our glorious Conſtitution, and that in the moſt direct terms.—and thus, if I am right this appeal to the twelve Judges, proves to be a ſolemn and pompous nullity—if conviction took place, the Judge muſt pronounce the ſentence of the law; but I conceive, that ſuch a conviction could not happen, except, indeed, from a packed Jury of United Iriſhmen, and even they might be deterred by the dread of an attaint *.

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inſtitution, it can only conſider one political queſtion, and that merely on the defenſive viz. the preſervation of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, as a proof of this ſee Appendix No. 6. If ever there could be deviation from this principle of the Orange inſtitution, I think it muſt have appeared, on the momentous agitation of the queſtion of Union.

* I do aſſert that the ſtatute of 37th of G. 3d. againſt brotherhoods or ſocieties, bound together by oaths, comprehends the ſociety of Free Maſons, and that of the friendly brothers of St. Patrick, juſt as much, and as far, as it comprehends the Orange ſociety—and I do defy any lawyer in the land to refute this aſſertion—would any tribunal of this kingdom, convict a Free

This Gentleman ought to have been more cautious, and have choſen ſure grounds, before he ventured to prefer ſo ſerious an accuſation againſt Legiſlators, whom he has preſumed to repreſent, as publicly adminiſtering oaths, in direct violation of a ſtatute made by themſelves; and for the breach of which, they were publicly co-operating "*in hanging and whipping wretches*"—and this crude opinion he publiſhes and proclaims to the people of this agitated country, and tells them, that it cauſes a diſſolution of all government. I do ſuppoſe that party zeal againſt the Orangemen, blinded him to all the conſequences of ſuch a publication; which even truth could not excuſe or juſtify, under the preſent circumſtances. The Preſs, in its zenith of licentious audacity, never vomited forth a more dangerous or deadly political poiſon.

Free Maſon, or a friendly brother, under that ſtatute, nor could they with more juſtice convict an Orangeman.—Were not the members of the Legiſlature, who belonged to the maſonic and friendly ſocieties, as much, and as far, guilty of a breach of their own law, as thoſe who belonged to the Orange ſociety? I defy any man to ſay that they were not—but the Catholic ſpirit of this impartial gentleman paſſes them by, and faſtens on the Orangeman.—Nor is it the firſt time that the zeal of Catholiciſm has urged this gentleman to a diſplay of his rancour, againſt the Orange ſyſtem.—At a meeting of the learned profeſſion to which he belongs, held in William-Street "*Exhibition*"-room, for the expreſs purpoſe of diſcuſſing the queſtion of Union, he indulged himſelf in an acrimonious reviling of the "*Orange Faction*," as he called it.—On ſuch an occaſion, it might have been expected, that the *Orange* would have eſcaped unnoticed, and unmoleſted. But this furious ſachem could not loſe any oppertunity, of vomiting forth his green and yellow bile.

Were I not confined in time and limits, I ſhould animadvert on other parts of this pamphlet, which, notwithſtanding its partialities and miſrepreſentations, on the points I have noticed, its affectation of intimate acquaintance with Cabinets, and its familiar expoſition of public and leading characters, certainly ſhews conſiderable ingenuity, wit, and ſatire, and contains many forcible arguments in favour of an Union, conveyed in a pleaſing, familiar, and impreſſive ſtile.

Dublin, January 22, 1799.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX, No. I.

FROM the various attempts that have been made to poiſon the public mind, and ſlander thoſe who have had the ſpirit to adhere to their King and Conſtitution, and to maintain the Laws.

We, the Proteſtants of Dublin, aſſuming the name of ORANGE MEN, feel ourſelves called upon, not to vindicate our principles, for we know that our honour and loyalty bid defiance to the ſhafts of malevolence and diſaffection, but openly to avow thoſe principles and declare to the world the objects of our Inſtitution.

We have long obſerved with indignation the efforts that have been made to foment Rebellion in this Kingdom, by the ſeditious who have formed themſelves into Societies, under the ſpecious name of *United Iriſhmen*.

We have ſeen with pain the lower orders of our fellow-ſubjects, forced or ſeduced from their allegiance, by the threats and machinations of *Traitors*.

And, we have viewed with horror the ſucceſsful exertions of *Miſcreants*, to encourage a Foreign Enemy to invade this happy land, in hopes of riſing into conſequence on the downfall of their Country.

We, therefore, thought it high time to rally round the Conſtitution, and there pledge ourſelves to each other, to maintain the Laws, and ſupport our

our good King, againſt all his Enemies, whether *Rebels* to their God or to their Country, and by ſo doing, ſhew to the world that there is a body of men in this iſland, who are ready in the hour of danger, to ſtand forward in defence of that Grand Palladium of our Liberties, the Conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland, obtained and eſtabliſhed by the courage and Loyalty of our Anceſtors under the Great KING WILLIAM.

Fellow-ſubjects, we are accuſed with being an *Inſtitution*, founded on principles too ſhocking to repeat, and bound together by oaths, at which human nature would ſhudder; but we caution you not to be led away by ſuch malevolent falſehoods, for we ſolemnly aſſure you in the preſence of the Almighty God, that the idea of injuring any one, on account of his religious opinion, never entered our *hearts*: we regard every loyal ſubject, as our friend, be his religion what it may, we have no enmity but to the enemies of our Country.

We further declare, that we are ready at all times to ſubmit ourſelves to the orders of thoſe in authority under his Majeſty, and that we will chearfully undertake any duty which they ſhall think proper to point out for us, in caſe either a foreign enemy ſhall dare to invade our coaſts, or that a domeſtic foe ſhall preſume to raiſe the ſtandard of Rebellion in the land. To theſe principles we are pledged—and in ſupport of them we are ready to ſhed the laſt drop of our blood.

AT a

APPENDIX No. 2.

At a Meeting of the MASTERS of the following Orange Lodges of this City, held at Harrington's, September 10, 1798.

Nos. 176, 439, 473, 474, 505, 507, 532, 533, 538.

Rev. T. F. KNIPE, in the Chair.

Reſolved, That the 5th Rule of our Aſſociation be now read, (And the ſame being read, viz.)

" V. That no Perſon do perſecute or upbraid " any one on account of his Religious Opinions, " but that we will, on the contrary, be aiding and " aſſiſting to every Loyal Subject of every Religi- " ous Deſcription."

Reſolved, That a Committee of Nine be appointed to conduct a Subſcription on behalf of the brave Fellows who have been wounded, and the widows and Orphans of thoſe gallant Men, who have fallen, gloriouſly fighting for their King and Conſtitution, in the late Actions with the French and Rebel Armies, in the counties of Sligo and Leitrim.

Reſolved, That the ſaid Committee be empowered to extend the Benefit of this Subſcription to all the brave Fellows who have been wounded, and to the widows and Orphans of all thoſe who have fallen during the late Invaſion, and whoſe Conduct ſhall be certified by their Officers, as deſerving the Notice of the Committee.

The

The following gentlemen were appointed to be the ſaid Committee.

John Claudius Beresford, Eſq.
Rev. T. F. Knipe,
Alderman James,
Sir John Macartney,
Alderman Crothers,
Iſaac Dejoncourt, Eſq.
William Gamble Galway, Eſq.
Arthur Dunn, Eſq. and
Humphry A. Woodward, Eſq.

Reſolved, That the ſaid Committee do meet at Harrington's, on Thurſday next at one o'clock, and from time to time as may be neceſſary.

Signed by order of the Meeting,

HARDING GIFFARD, Secretary.

APPENDIX. No. 3.

An Excommunication pronounced by the Popiſh Clergy againſt a Papiſt for conforming to the Proteſtant Religion.

By the authority of God the Father Almighty, and the Bleſſed Virgin Mary, and St. Peter, and St. Paul and all the holy Saints.

✠

We Excommunicate, we utterly curſe, damn, commit, and deliver to the Devil in hell, Francis Freeman late of the city of Dublin, but now of Tuckſmill in the Co. of Wicklow, who has (in ſpight of our God, and St. Peter, and St. Paul, and all the holy Saints, and in ſpight of our holy father the Pope, God's Vicar here on earth, and in ſpight of

of our Revd. Father our Dioceſan, and the worſhipful Canons, who ſerve God daily) apoſtated to a moſt damnable religion, full of hereſy, and blaſphemy.——Excommunicated let him be, and delivered over to the Devil of Hell, as a perpetual malefactor, and ſchiſmatic—accurſed may he be, in cities, and all towns, in fields and in ways, in yards, and in houſes, and in all other places, whether lying or riſing, waking or ſleeping, eating or drinking, or what elſe thing he does beſides. We ſeparate him from the fold, and all the good prayers of the Church, and from the participation of the holy Jeſus, from the Sacraments, Chapels, and Altars, from holy bread, and holy water; and from all the merits of God's holy Prieſts, and religious men, from all our Cloyſters, from all pardons, and privileges of right, and immunities, which all the Holy Fathers have, and the Pope of Rome hath given him—and we give him over abſolutely to the power of the fiend, and let him quench his ſoul [when dead] in flames of hell fire, as this candle is now quenched and put out by us (here a candle is put out) and let us pray God, our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul, that his eyes may be put out in this world as this [here a ſecond candle is put out] let us pray God, that all the ſenſes of his body may fail him, as the light of this candle doth [here a third candle is put out] unleſs he comes at ſight hereof, and openly confeſs his damnable hereſy and plaſphemy, and by repentance as much as in him lies, make ſatisfaction to God, our Lady, St. Peter, and St. Paul, and the worſhipful company of this Church, and as the holy ſhaft of this holy croſs now falls down, ſo may he, except he recants and repents.

Signed PHILIP DUNN, Biſhop,
BRYAN MOORE, Regr.

July 18th, 1733.

The

APPENDIX. No. 4.

The following Articles of Popiſh Faith were found in the Pocket of Prieſt Murpoy, who was killed at the Battle of Arklow, and alſo found on the perſons, and in the poſſeſſion of ſeveral other Prieſts and Catholics, in different parts of the kingdom who were taken, or killed during the Rebellion.

1ſt, WHEN we aſſemble we croſs ourſelves, ſaying, "We acknowledge theſe our articles in the preſence of Chriſt's Vicar, our Lord God the Pope, and in the preſence of the holy Primates, Biſhops, Monks, Friars and Prieſts."

2d, We acknowledge they can make *Vice* Virtue, and *Virtue* Vice, according to their pleaſure. Falling flat on their faces, they proceed in this manner ſpeaking to the Hoſt, and ſaying, "Holy, glorious, and admirable Hoſt, we acknowledge it according to our good Father the Pope; we muſt all fall down before the great effigy of our Lord God Almighty."

3d, We acknowledge the ſupremacy of the Holy Father the Lord God the Pope, and that he is Peter's ſucceſſor in the chair.

4th, We acknowledge that Peter has the keys of Heaven, and that he will receive thoſe only who acknowledge his ſupremacy.

5th, We are bound to believe there can be no ſalvation out of our holy Church.

6th, We are bound to believe, that the late holy maſſacre was lawful, and juſtly put into execution againſt Proteſtants, and that we ſhould continue the ſame as long as we can do it with ſafety to ourſelves.

7th, We are bound to curſe, ring the bells, and put out the candles four times in each year on Heretics.

8th,

8th, We are bound to believe that Heretics can never be ſaved, unleſs they partake of that holy ſacrament, Extreme Unction.

9th, We are bound to believe, that thoſe who elope from our holy religion, are under the power of the Devil, whom Heretics follow.

10th, No faith is to be kept with Heretics, tho' bound by the moſt ſacred oaths; for ſays our holy Father, they have followed damnation, and Luther and Calvin.

11th, We are not to believe their oaths, for their principles are damnation.

12th, We are bound to drive Heretics out of the land with fire, ſword, faggot, and confuſion, as our holy Father ſays, if their herely prevails we are ſtill to become their ſlaves. Oh! dear Father, keep us from that. (Here the holy water is ſhaken, and they ſay the Hail Mary three times.)

13th, We are bound to abſolve without any reward, all thoſe who embrue their hands in the blood of Heretics.

14th, We are bound to believe that Chriſt's Vicar, our Lord God the Pope, can abſolve all men, Heretics excepted, and has given the like power to all his inferior clergy.

15th, We are bound to believe all the articles commanded by our holy Church.

16th, We are bound to believe the Virgin Mary has more honour in Heaven, than any of the Angels.

17th, We are bound to pray to the holy Angels, that they may pray for us.

18th, We are bound to believe in the holy croſs, holy water, holy ſpittle, holy earth, holy bones, holy people, and beads, and that they are to be uſed on certain occaſions.

19th, We are bound to celebrate the holy maſs

in Latin, having ourſelves c'oathed in a holy veſtment and ſhirt, bearing the holy croſs on our ſhoulders, ſignifying we are the very Chriſt.

20th, We are bound to believe every time maſs is celebrated, there is an expiatory from the living and the dead.

21ſt, We are bound to believe there are four places of Purgatory, viz. Limbus Infantum, Limbus Patrum, Meadows of Eaſe, and Purgatory.

22d. We are bound to believe that Chriſt was three days in Limbus Infantum, where the ſouls of holy fathers go, till they get a paſs with them to the holy Peter.

23d, We are bound to believe that the ſouls of children unbaptized go to the Limbus Infantum, until original ſin is well paid away, by the help of holy maſſes ſaid to them.

24th, We acknowledge the ſouls of Chriſtians go to Purgatory, and remain there till we pray them out of it, that they may have the power to walk the Meadows of Eaſe with ſafety, till it pleaſes holy Peter to open the gates of Glory for them, which no Heretic ſhall ever enter

25th, We are bound to keep Lent according to our Clergy's pleaſure, and to maintain the work of Superorogation.

26th. We are bound to acknowledge the Lake in the North to be holy, called Lough Darragh.

27th, We are bound to pray to no other Saint on the day only them to whom it is dedicated.

28th, We muſt baptize bells, and conſecrate chapels, and no man to enter into the holy office of a Prieſt, only he who is known to be a man after the harlot Joan.

29th, We maintain ſeven ſacraments eſſential to ſalvation. viz. Baptiſm, Uchariſt, Penance Ex-

treme Unction, Holy Orders, Confirmation and Matrimony.

30th, We maintain we can tranſubſtantiate the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Chriſt.

31ſt. We believe that Heretics eat their kind of ſacrament to their eternal damnation.

32d, We believe that Chriſt is every where, but eſpecially in our Church.

33rd, We maintain we cannot know any thing without being in danger of judgment.

34th, We maintain that Heretics ha e neither the will of the Prophets nor of Chriſt.

35th, We acknowledge that the Roſary of Saint Bridget is to be ſaid once a week; and laſtly, that our holy church can never err.

Roach and Murphy ſaid maſs four times on their march from Gorey.

APPENDIX, No, 5.

THE two documents No. 5, are publiſhed to ſhew that the Catholics who become members of the ſocieties of United Iriſhmen, from the firſt denomination of thoſe ſocieties throughout the kingdom, down to the actual inſurrection, were all influenced by religious motives, and that even good policy could not ſmother their religious hatred. The union was materially injured by the apprehenſions and conſequent deſertion of many Proteſtants (particularly Diſſenters) who took alarm at the religious aſpect which the conſpiracy aſſumed from time to time. All their fears on this head have been fully verified by the events of the rebellion. In the firſt document, dated 1793, "*Hating the Romans*" is

is a crime for which Chaloner is to be tried for his life, by one of the committee. In that of December 1798, the cauſe is pronounced to be "*Holy*" and the protection of the God that makes them free, is peculiarly promiſed to a particular deſcription, "*my and our friends*". This laſt ſeems to be artfully worded, ſo as to avoid an explicit declaration for fear of alarming the few proteſtants, who may have been mad or ſtupid enough ſtill to adhere to the union.

A: D. 1793.

For Thady Barnes, Eſq. near Kells

THE ſchret committy tried you and others cowardly Barnes, you die, all your cauſhen wont ſafe you. Bluddy Jackſon was tried by the commutty of public ſafety, he dies and his head cut off.

Butler * is gone, he was condemned on Thurſday, died Fridy. Bluddy Jackſon ſold our bludd King, his budder dies.

Signed,

The goſt at Tucker's, that's the watch word. Black Chaloner *is not tried yet, he hates the "Romans."*

The above is a copy of the paper ſent to Mr. Barnes, exactly as to ſpelling and wording.

APPENDIX, No. 6.

Dec. the 15th, 1798.

YOU are hereby ordered to take notice that we

* Chaplain to the Biſhop of Meath, aſſaſſinated at the Biſhop's gate.

we the 2nd company of North Rangers do ſend this notice to all our friends.

GREETING,

WE do now remind you of the appointed time being at hand, or drawing nigh, when Iriſh valour muſt be diſplayed here, as well as in our ſiſter country.

YOU all know your joint engagements—Behave like men, determined to die or be free, we have ſtrength ſufficient, numbers flocking each day to our "*Holy cauſe.*" Thouſands waiting a movement, and then ready to join us; think not of death; ſhould you or me [happily] we may ſay, juſtly periſh in this cauſe, our family, [I ſpeak to all my and our friends] our families, I ſay, ſhall never want, for the God that makes us free, will do for them.

Health and Fraternity.

N B. I have ſo ſhort a time on hands, that I juſt wrote theſe few lines in our caſh-book, I leave it with a friend, to be ſeen of him. [E. Mc. G.] I ordered him to copy ſome of them for others. We ſhall have a happy new year, which we will call the ſecond of the Iriſh Republic.

Copied from a letter found on a man taken up by Sir John Blacker.

APPENDIX, No. 7.

GRAND ORANGE LODGE of IRELAND,

January 5, 1799.

THE GRAND LODGE of IRELAND obſerve, with heartfelt ſatisfaction, that their former recommendation

mendation to their Brethren, to abſtain as Orange-men, from any diſcuſſion of the queſtion of Union, has had the happieſt effects, inſomuch as it has diſappointed the ſanguine and malignant hopes entertained by the enemies of Religion and good order, that ſuch diſcuſſion would be productive of diſcord amongſt Orange-men. They now feel it their duty to offer ſome further obſervations on the preſent juncture of affairs.

Orange-men in different capacities, as Members of Parliament, Grand Jurors, Freeholders, and Members of Corporate Bodies, will have opportunities of debating the important queſtion of an Union: but it is the earneſt entreaty of the Grand Lodge, that, as a Society, they will continue ſilent; for, as every Orange-man, however zealous, may, and no doubt will, from local circumſtances, conceive different ideas on this ſubject, the diſcuſſion of a queſtion of ſuch magnitude, involving not only great imperial topics, but alſo matters of local advantage, and local diſadvantage, muſt unavoidably create a diviſion in opinion—and "an houſe divided againſt itſelf cannot ſtand." It is, therefore, recommended to all Orange-men, to keep in mind the great object, for which they have aſſociated; and to avoid, as injurious to their inſtitution, all controverſy upon ſubjects not connected with their principles.

The Grand Lodge moſt ſolemnly enjoin the Maſters of Lodges, and their Brethren in general, moſt particularly to ſcrutinize the character of every Candidate for admiſſion; as they underſtand, with indignation, that men, notoriouſly diſaffected, have of late had the audacity to offer themſelves to ſome Lodges. It is alſo requeſted, that Maſters of Lodges will diſcountenance, by every means in their power, even by the impoſition of a fine, any

imitation

imitation of the manners and dreſs of Traitors, which the Grand Lodge have heard with ſurpriſe has been of late affected by ſome of the younger Orange-men. They are the more anxious on this head, which may at firſt ſeem unimportant, as Traitors are now buſy in boaſting of a coalition with our Aſſociation; an opinion which this conduct in known Orange-men tends greatly to encourage.

The Grand Lodge further recommends, that this Addreſs be read at all the Lodges in Ireland.

THOMAS VERNER, Grand Maſter,

JOHN C. BERESFORD, Grand Secretary.

FINIS.

A

LETTER

TO

THEOBALD M'KENNA, ESQ.

OCCASIONED BY A

PUBLICATION,

ENTITLED

A MEMOIRE ON SOME QUESTIONS

RESPECTING THE PROJECTED

UNION.

BY JOHN HAMILTON, ESQ.

Divide & impera.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED BY JAMES MOORE, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

A

LETTER

TO

THEOBALD M'KENNA, ESQ.

OCCASIONED BY HIS MEMOIRE, &c.

SIR,

YOUR memoire on ſome queſtions reſpecting the projected Union between Great Britain and Ireland, &c. is, I believe, the third argument that has appeared to endeavour to reconcile this kingdom to the meaſure of a legiſlative Union, and is written in a ſtile and with a temper ſo very different from the two firſt, is ſo apparently calculated to ſeduce men by the temperate and rational allurements, you hold out to them of moderate national rank and certain domeſtic ſecuri-

ty, that you evidently build your hopes of ſucceſs on the acquieſcence of the moſt uninfluenced and reſpected part of the community.

You have attempted this with an exterior of candour, which bears ſo ſtrong a ſemblance of reality, that had I not felt that your foundation were ſo evidently unſubſtantial, I ſhould have been led to doubt whether your talents have not undergone a temporary ſuſpenſion, whether the enormities of the crimes we have juſt paſſed through may not have made you the victim of timidity without your perceiving it. But a more cloſe obſervation of your memoire convinces me that it may lead to a diviſion of the public mind, fatal in the extreme, and though I do not accuſe you of having loſt your national feelings, I give you credit for the beſt motives in your endeavours to ſeduce your countrymen from the operation of theirs.

But though the vicious cruelties of which we have juſt beheld our countrymen guilty, are to you and to me equally ſources of diſguſt and ſhame,—yet ſomething has taught us to ſeek different modes of recovering the national character.—You at once ſurrender the Iriſh as not ſuſceptible of reform from within, and in the outſet propoſe the radical cure of amputation, by removing for ever the great domeſtic cauſe of irritation *.

* Page 1.

By

By this I underſtand you to mean the parliament, to it you attribute all our ills, our diſſenſions, and our calamities, and to infer that our want of energy ariſes from our complexity of conſtitution.

When you attribute all theſe evils to our parliament, you muſt either allude to ſome univerſal principle of miſtaken legiſlative conduct, or ſome diſtinct inſtance of error and unſteadineſs, connected with ſome particular political ſubjects, that have of late been the object of agitation in this kingdom.

That the former of theſe did not lead to the late rebellion, to me appears ſatisfactorily from the deſcription of perſons by whom it was promoted, but ſtill more ſo from that of thoſe by whom it was put down.—Had a general odium towards the legiſlators of this kingdom kindled an oppoſition to its acts, you would not have had ſo far to ſeek for its latent ſprings and ſources.—You would ſoon have deſcried the abettors among the better ranks of ſociety, and not have been driven to an almoſt chemical proceſs, before you could trace its movers and their motives.

That the political ſubjects latterly agitated here were not the cauſe of it, you fairly argue, and I readily admit. I accuſe no religion of aſcendancy in rebellion. Though I trace the fury and the ſavage barbarities of Wexford to religious animoſity,—yet I do not aſſert or think

that

that originally they were ſworn in to a religious warfare,—but you will allow me to ſay that their paſſions were inflamed, and their exertions prolonged by religious awe and perſecuting animoſity, that ſectarial antipathy led to inhuman barbarities, and ſufficiently evinced to the rational mind that Ireland was not then ſo devoid of bigotted animoſity as to render it a country, the police of which ought to be ſurrendered either to the aſſociation of the lower order of people, or the bare terror of the bayonet of the mercenary.

My mind ſuggeſts a very different ſpecies of cure,—the calamities which you ſo juſtly deplore, I attribute fundamentally to cauſes exterior, and I neither confine them to the parliament nor to religious feuds,—they aroſe in my mind from the intrigues of a power, aiming at the deſtruction of Great Britain, and were facilitated by the erroneous governing principle infuſed into our cabinet, by that power to which you are ſo ſolicitous, we ſhould altogether ſurrender ourſelves. But I conceive it belongs to ourſelves, and to ourſelves alone, to create and eſtabliſh our means of ſecurity.—Regeneration is a principle univerſally inherent, allowed to exiſt throughout all nature. Would you deny to your country alone the univerſal recuperative faculty? or would you voluntarily and gladly extinguiſh it?

You ſay * that Union in the abſtract, does not ſtrike you with that aſſemblage of horrors, &c. I will freely own, that in the abſtract horror may be too ſtrong an expreſſion. But if it ſhould prove unneceſſary, unprofitable, and dangerous, 'tis enough without preſenting more hideous features. You talk of conditions in the abſtract alſo—and again I admit, that in the nature of things two countries may be ſo ſituated as to allow of the conſideration of conditions; but 'tis not fair to argue in the abſtract, and found thereon a principle that ſhould govern us. You muſt ſhew me that as we now ſtand, in the exiſting circumſtances, it muſt be moſt eminently ſerviceable, and the benefits not otherwiſe attainable, for unleſs you do ſo, there is one ſhort anſwer to all your poſitions. Independence is preferable to dependence—independence can procure us all we can deſire, and therefore muſt be retained.

You next proceed to argue, that our liberty may be as ſecure under the ſuperintendance of an imperial as a domeſtic legiſlature †. But here again your attachment to firſt principles leads you into an error—for you forget the cardinal diſtinction between the liberty of an individual, and the liberty of a ſtate. You indeed, by your ſubſequent definition of perſonal liberty, ſhew that you build your reaſoning thereon—your reaſoning on this part of the ſubject I ſhall not

* Page 1. † Page 2.

controvert,

controvert, but I contend, that it contains no argument whatsoever, applicable to the present case. I do not fear that the Union will subject us to an annihilation of Magna Charta, or an unneceſſary ſuſpenſion of the Habeas Corpus act. Theſe are rights that are common to all his Majeſty's ſubjects, and the Engliſh are intereſted in the ſupport of them equally with ourſelves. But there are many ſubjects on which an equality and reciprocity of privilege are not ſo unintereſting to England, the regulation of trade is a ſubject on which the people of Great Britain have been hitherto very ſolicitous to prevent our being placed on an equal footing, and the proportion we are to bear of public expenditure is becoming ſo, the rank we now hold in point of trade was obtained againſt their wiſhes, and has been retained with an eye of envy—of envy principally exiſting among the Engliſh mercantile intereſt, amongſt whom the miniſter muſt ever raiſe his loans, and to whom he muſt ever partially incline. Theſe are ſubjects, that without pretending to much penetration, I can diſcover many grounds to form a conjecture, that the rights of the Iriſh nation may not be as ſecure under an imperial legiſlature; and therefore I ſhudder at the ſurrender of our domeſtic one.

While America was ſubject to Great Britain, I never heard that any national infringement of the perſonal liberty of the colonial inhabitant was complained of—the Engliſh conſtitution was

extended

extended that scarcely civilized people, but the national rights were not so readily allowed by the imperial legislature; they thought the Colonies were fit subjects for national depression, to promote the national elevation of the mother country, and by proceeding on that principle, they drove them to a rebellion, which ended in American independence. Before 1782, Great Britain, I may say, legislated for us, and before that time our personal liberty was well secured, but our trade was not; there the rivalship stepped in, and you may have seen that the bankers and merchants of Dublin have attributed our unprecedented progression in prosperity, not to the impartial laws of the formerly rejected, but now intended imperial legislature, but to the wisdom of our newly obtained domestic and self-interested parliament *.

When you talk † of erecting an independent government on every ten square miles of Europe, forgive my saying, you descend below any title to notice. If there is one so frantic Politician in this kingdom, to him let your reasoning apply; but I conceive the finger of nature in general points out the line of demarcation. Though in continental situations this may better admit of controversy, yet even there a chain of mountain or large rapid river satisfies all but inordinate ambition; but surely our insular situation might

* See Resolution of Merchants of Dublin.

† Page 3.

have protected us from the ſarcaſtic line of argument you reſort to. Had the moſt eccentric of the French Directory, at the moment of the greateſt elevation of the Republic, applied your reaſoning to England, and founded on her comparatively ſmall extent of territory a claim to imperial legiſlation, even the enthuſiaſm of republicans would have ſmiled; yet, believe me, I do not conceive the idea more extravagant than yours.

You next proceed to argue * that our imperial rank will receive an acceſſion from the ſurrender; how you mean to prove this I confeſs is a matter of ſome myſtery. I have heard indeed an argument held out to induce the borough proprietor to accede to the meaſure, that one ſeat in the parliament which repreſented three kingdoms was equal in value to three in a parliament repreſenting one; how true that calculation may be, and what effect your poſition will have on them, I leave to their conſideration; but, if you ſeriouſly mean to argue that Ireland inſeparably connected with the crown of Great Britain, and poſſeſſed of an independent legiſlature, will raiſe its eſtimation in the eyes of Europe as a kingdom by becoming a province, with the power of contributing one-ſixth to the repreſentation of Great Britain, I feel that you will have but few to ſupport you. As well might a mighty lorded intereſt attempt to perſuade an independent country gentleman, that

* Page 4.

by

by furrendering to him irrevocably the votes of an inferior intereſt, the power of making leaſes, the choice of tenants, nay, the modifications of family ſettlements, he would increaſe his proſperity and reſpectability, from being aſſured that his tenantry ſhould always form a part of the lord's intereſt at the election.

You next tell us †, that laws we do, and ever muſt receive from Great Britain; but here again your general poſition furniſhes an argument of which you make uſe, but which when examined radically fails in its application. You forget that ſituated as this country and Great Britain are, there muſt exiſt an imperial general code of laws, as well as a national and local one. When you ſay that we muſt ever receive laws from Great Britain, had you added the word, *imperial*, every man muſt have acquieſced; but when you ſpeak generally, and include local appropriate regulations, every Iriſhman ſhould diſſent. It is to me equally paradoxical that Ireland ſhould *force* imperial laws on Great Britain, as that ſhe ſhould *compel* us to obey her moſt probably unjuſt regulating edicts relating to our domeſtic arrangements, not obviouſly claſhing with general imperial advantage, though poſſibly oppoſite to her diſtinct emolument. Here the rivalry of trade occurs, and here we require a legiſlature of our own to defend our infancy, and check and expoſe their power and intrigue. Here our local

† Page 4.

broils may call, in our equally imperfect ſyſtem of police, for laws that in a country ſo matured may be received with diſguſt. I defy the information of a Britiſh parliament to provide againſt every exigency of the latter; and I much doubt whether they will ever ſatisfy this kingdom that they are diſintereſted in their deciſion on the former.

Suppoſe that previous to the firſt appearance of our late unhappy rebellion, we had been repreſented in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons by eighty Iriſh members. We have ſeen with what ſtruggles the bills for the ſuppreſſion of ſeditious meetings were carried through the legiſlature in that country. Had the innovations on the received freedom of diſcuſſion in that kingdom, and the extenſion of the treaſon law as confined to Great Britain, been accompanied with our ſyſtem of inſurrection laws as relating to us, had the miniſter then introduced a bill for ſubjecting to death in any part of the dominions regulated by the parliament he then addreſſed, a man who took an oath to conceal a ſecret however treaſonable, for enforcing magiſtrates to exact all the enormities of the execrable Corſew, and for tranſportation without a jury condemnation, how triumphantly would an Engliſh oppoſition have reſiſted ſuch innovations! Not ſmarting under the circumſtances that juſtified them, he could never have been convinced of their neceſſity; he would have told the kingdom that their being enacted for the correction of our people was but introductory to

their

their inſtitution as the ſcourge of them; the Engliſh might have recoiled at the proſpect of ſuch a ſuperaddition to the innovations introduced among them; the miniſter would have ſubmitted to a diſtant, in preference to an imminent evil; we ſhould have been ſacrificed to the ſelfiſh or the generous effuſions of Engliſhmen, and our rebellion have arrived at an irreſiſtible maturity, before we had power to oppoſe or inveſtigate it.

Here is an inſtance where our ſocial exiſtence might have been loſt, from the want of conviction coming home to the underſtanding of the repreſentative; but the danger is ſtill ſtronger when the conviction *comes too home*. Suppoſe, that previous to the peace, we all ſo earneſtly deſire, the meaſure of an Union ſhould be completed. Suppoſe, as we all earneſtly deſire, that peace ſhould open new ſources of Britiſh ſpeculation and of Britiſh trade, that our preſent Mediterranean ſuperiority ſhould lead to connexion beyond the Straits of Gibraltar, that we have hitherto been unable to form; ſhould the mercantile power of Great Britain ſtrongly urge the exertions made for our preſent Premier during the variable conteſt that now opens to ſo glorious a termination; ſhould ſhe with energy repreſent the efforts made by Great Britain, and without exaggeration repreſent the obſtruction offered by our rebellion, —do you think that every miniſter would feel himſelf bound to exert his uſual influence to prevent national attachment to themſelves, and national

averſion

averſion from us, from operating as it might on the Engliſh parliament, in ſecuring ſome little trifling pre-eminence that might with their *capital* be every thing? Would the knowledge of our repreſentatives avail againſt it? Or would this nation feel they were equally dealt with? I fear not —I may be miſtaken, but I am ſure I argue truly as to men and to nations, as far as hiſtory affords example; and I ſincerely hope my country may never make an experiment with example againſt them. I fervently pray ſhe may never ſuffer even England to legiſlate for her internally, nor ever offer to legiſlate for England imperially.

The feelings which have dictated the obſervations I have juſt concluded, afford a deciſive anſwer to the next paragraphs of the memoire, I ſay the next, for I paſs over the proofs of the utility of cultivating the Engliſh connexion with every reaſonable aſſiduity. Every man acknowledges the inſeparability of the connexion, and we agree in the common poſition, that it is only *how* it is to be moſt cemented that is now to be conſidered. It is advanced * that we are, if not legally, certainly effectively pledged to ſupport the credit of Great Britain. Every argument produced from this I admit to be unanſwerable, and I admit your poſition, with this addition, *in proportion to our means*: but, Sir, *that trifling addition*, to my comprehenſion involves the whole of the diſtinction between an imperial and an internal *national*

* Page 6.

legiſlature.

legiſlature. I think we are the beſt judges of our means, I truſt we ſhall never be illiberal, but we are too much in our infancy to bear up againſt extravagance. I can foreſee, in the complacency and indolence of a Britiſh parliament, an abſolute ſurrender of the queſtion of *Iriſh finance* to the budget propoſal of the premier. I can foreſee the difficulties and the danger of the premier to lead to improvident and unnatural impoſition; but I can foreſee no means of redreſs: an impeachment would prove abortive, oppoſition rebellion; but I cannot foreſee that a domeſtic legiſlature with a miniſter of our own would admit of a proportion much beyond our means. The Chancellor of the Iriſh Exchequer would not pledge himſelf for an Iriſh remittance he was not ſure he could raiſe. He could not be ſure of one beyond proportion; if he exacted beyond bounds he is reſponſible to ourſelves for the miſtake, and will be leſs liable to be guilty of one. Let not then the opponents of the Union be taxed with unwillingneſs to aſſiſt Great Britain, to contribute the utmoſt of their means to ſupport her naval glory; they only aſk to have a power of ſecuring and amending the contributory ſyſtem, of judging of its equality, and of apportioning its burthen.

You next * proceed to awaken our ardour to the connexion between the two kingdoms. Were you addreſſing the miſerable hordes of deluded rebels, who have acted upon the principles of

* Page 7.

French

French attachment, your reasoning might apply, but it has been my lot to participate military labour with you during the struggle between the French and Irish parties in this country,—and I feel myself authorized to ask you, do you think that the respected and momentous power of this country, even counting it numerically, needs your stimulating rehearsal of British power, to rouse and instigate their zeal for British connexion? I thought every man I could deem worthy of association acted upon the conviction of it.—I remember the enthusiastic struggle that drove men, till then almost effeminate in their habits, to manly exertions, incredible and unexampled.—I saw the gouty honorary members of our yeomanry body, forget their inability and carry arms with those by whom they had been excused, and with vigour and energy that seemed supernatural;—and I thought that French repulsion, and British connexion, were the secret springs of animation that wrought so powerfully and so successfully. I saw the British auxiliary force arrive amidst the plaudits of our city,—and every door opened with amplified Irish hospitality for their reception.—I saw in every man that true interchange of connexion, that the mutual danger and the mutual assistance led to—and I attributed it to that cause.—I saw it in you equally with others,—but I did not attribute it to any partiality to the sister nation *, nor to your wish

* Page 9.

to,

to convince me that an Iriſh catholic is ſuſceptible * of the glory of the Britiſh empire.—I admit your memoire glows ſtrongly with that partiality,—And I doubt not its ſincerity, while I attempt to expoſe the falſe concluſions it has ſuggeſted.

You talk next † of the popular queſtions in which you ſay had the parliament been ſo conſtituted, as to have followed the minority into the popular notion of the day, there would have been an end of, &c. &c. If you mean by this a panegyric on the conſtitution of our parliament, I am in no manner bound to controvert you,—but I would aſk you, have parliament hitherto preſerved the connexion? With one ſolitary exception there has not been an inſtance of any thing leading to the reverſe—that exception was the regency, an occurrence very explainable on almoſt conſtitutional grounds, but which a condemned omiſſion of our fœderal connexion rendered poſſible.—How many inſtances have we had of co-operation? If you really fear ſeparative meaſures on imperial ſubjects, I have already ceded the point to Great Britain, but I own I do not ſee the proneneſs to ſeparation in our legiſlative bodies, that ſhould deter the general miniſter from cordial co-operation with us, or that any circuitous or complex ‡ mode of proceeding, oppoſes our unanimity on queſtions of im-

* Page 10. † Ibid. ‡ Page 11.

perial importance.—You talk of our independant government taking orders from a power we do not recognize, and for remedy recommend us to adopt that power as our ſole governing medium, and thereby ſecure permanent ſettlement, —thus you argue that the power which now agitates us, through a domeſtic legiſlative, would, through a foreign, cloath us in the comforts of induſtry. Can a power of ſuch omnipotence be ſo unpropitious as to require a ſelfiſh participation of our government, or reſolve that otherwiſe we ſhall remain deprived of the means of induſtry? If ſhe does, ſhe has ſome ſiniſter ſcheme to forward, and I deprecate the ſurrender to her ambition.

You next * proceed to argue that from want of capital, our commercial conceſſions can atchieve nothing, and that nothing can induce foreign capital but a change of manners, which change of manners cannot be effected but by a great change of conſtitution. I ſhall, when we come to talk of police, endeavour to prove that a Union would deſtroy what little police we have; and that thereby the introduction of foreign capital would be repelled. But let me here endeavour to controvert your poſitions by denying the facts you build upon. If you ſay that our proſperity has not increaſed ſince the year 1782, you are the only man in the kingdom that thinks ſo. If the increaſe of civilization, extenſion of ma-

* Pages 12, 13, 14.

nufacture,

nufacture, the progreſs of the fine arts, were ever rapid almoſt to a miracle in any country, they have been in this. It is within my own obſervation to have traced the gradual remedy of our diſorders, viz. wealth and induſtry, advancing with a rapidity ſcarcely to be paralleled.—Aſk the northern merchant, Did the different manufacturing towns of the counties of Armagh, Down, &c. ſupply the *quarterly fairs* with linen cloth, previous to the year 1780, as abundantly as they now do their *weekly markets?* How many conſiderable market towns have been eſtabliſhed through the province of Ulſter ſince that period, that are weekly exhibitions of the moſt animating induſtry, and produce weekly diffuſions of wealth and comfort to the peaſantry, throughout almoſt the whole of that comfortable diſtrict? Is it not ſpreading with a rapidity that more than ſatisfies, that aſtoniſhes? I have been told, that it is ſcarcely five years ſince the linen manufacture was hardly known in the county of Cavan, and that at this moment, almoſt every cabin enjoys the fruits of it. If you have formed your ideas from your own obſervation, Did you conſider the eaſtern part of Ulſter, a year before the breaking out of the deplorable rebellion, inferior in the comfort and induſtry of its inhabitants, to the moſt induſtrious parts of England? Agriculture, I admit, has not arrived at ſo much perfection, manufacture is not yet ſo general, but the improvements in the former muſt come down from the Superior,

and there the abſentee is to blame; the great extent of the latter muſt wait for a population proportionate, and all the capital of England could not force us to get on beyond a certain pace, which though I do not argue that we have kept up to, yet I contend for it we were ſufficiently rapid to ſatisfy every moderate ſpeculatiſt.

Your obſervations * on the deficiency of our preſent or improved commercial ſyſtem, through the want of a ſuperior juriſdiction to decide upon the breaches of the agreement, are, in my mind, ſceptical indeed; but, ſuppoſing that it is impoſſible for two countries, each poſſeſſing a legiſlature of their own, to regulate their Trade upon the baſis of equality and ſound policy—let me deprecate this monſtrous proof of your avowed partiality for Great Britain, when you recommend her Legiſlature as the impartial juriſdiction to judge of her own poſſible aggreſſion, and of our poſſible innovation.—It is the firſt time I ever heard a political ſpeculatiſt advance that the more powerful nation was the impartial judge for the inferior to look up to, to decide queſtions relating to the rival trade of both.—Surely, the firſt ingredient in every ſatisfactory juriſdiction muſt be impartiality; either we are likely to be rivals or we are not; if we are not, we need no ſuperior juriſdiction to appeal to; if we are, I deprecate the ſurrender of every thing to the more

* Page 15.

powerful

powerful country—her decision, though just, could not produce satisfaction.

You next talk of Scotland—This subject has been so much and so ably handled in many of the publications since this question has been agitated, that I certainly shall not insert what must be an extract from them—I shall only observe cursorily, that I do not see that an Union would remove our religious broils, (of which hereafter) and that I do not wish to see the peace of this country obtained through half a century of rebellion. Indeed, I undertake to assert, and I hope to prove, that if every gentleman of property and of sense in this kingdom would exert his influence as he ought, that one-fifth of that time without any unnatural revolution, would be enough to do away all that was dangerous of religious animosity, and to raise this kingdom to real rank in the eyes of Europe.

I have heard, indeed, from respectable authority, but yet have been compelled to doubt, that some of our Catholic brethren have been induced to accede to the measure, merely as they avow, because the Orangemen oppose it.—When a mind becomes so malignant as to be ready to surrender eternal privileges to gratify temporary resentment, to rivet its own disability and humiliation, barely to cast some degradation on an opponent whose bounty had scarcely ceased to flow towards it—I deem its opinion to have lost all title to public respect; but I cannot be easily persuad-

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ed that men poſſeſſed of ſuch feelings are conſiderable in point of number—I no more believe that the whole Catholic Body is ſo impregnated with envy, than I do that as a religion they promoted the rebellion.—However, it is vain to diſguiſe that much of that ſpirit has eſcaped in your arguments *.—You reaſon on it, becauſe you have heard of it; you are, I know, incapable of poſſeſſing it, and I hope there is no man, who, on reflection, would be actuated by it.

You will give me credit for my obſervations on the Orange Lodges, when I aſſure you that I am not an Orangeman, and that I ſincerely hope no exigency of times will ever require me to become one.—But in ſaying ſo, my objection goes much more to the general evil tendency of political clubs, containing religious excluſion, than to the particular principles on which the Orange Societies are founded, as far as I can learn from their declarations and their conduct.—The Orange inſtitution has as yet been of ſhort duration, it had its commencement in the North, at a time when religious animoſity and republican ſpirit united to render the Proteſtant the victim of a ſhort-lived and unnatural coalition between the Diſſenter and the Catholic.—It was at firſt an union or principle of ſelf-defence, it afterwards broke out into acts of retaliation, not to be defended I admit; yet I do not ſee why the entire of the offence ſhould be viſited on the Proteſtant;

* Page 16.

I feel

I feel convinced that the political ſociety called Defenders led the way, and that every degree of opprobrium viſitable on the Orangemen as the continuers of a club, is alſo attributable to the Defender as an original promoter of an oppoſite one.—It was a conſiderable time before the diſtinction reached the metropolis. And when did it arrive at any alarming degree of conſequence here? at a moment when the moſt deep-rooted ſyſtem of anarchy and cruelty had broken out into a rebellion that threatened immediate deſtruction to the Conſtitution as eſtabliſhed by King William, and was then raging with all the fury religious enthuſiaſm could inſpire, to the certain deſtruction of every Proteſtant, for that was a ſufficient crime, and to the avowed annihilation of every thing Orange in the land *.—Now, Sir, do not attribute to me any of the epithets you are ſo laviſh of, when I ſay that I do not conſider the extenſion of that body at that time an unnatural event; their firſt principle, as well as I can learn, was the defence of royalty—ſo far they were commendable and uſeful; to diſſeminate that principle at that moment among Proteſtants of every age, education, and degree, was a moſt uſeful and commendable duty; the next principle was Proteſtant ſelf-defence—I aſk you, was

* It is a fact, that in the County of Wexford, a debate took place between ſome rebel captains, whether a houſe ſhould be deſtroyed or not, when a plunderer in his ſearch diſcovered a pair of Orange hand ſcreens, whereupon it was forthwith ordered to be demoliſhed.

there

there not a great deal of Proteſtant danger to juſtify ſuch a principle of aſſociation? Nay, I aſk you farther, had the rebellion extended much farther and been conducted with the ſame religious barbarity wherewith it was carried on in Wexford, muſt not every Proteſtant in the kingdom have fallen into the Orange Society, and have ſeparated himſelf from the Catholic? By the merciful interpoſition of Providence, the rebellion was checked, and I think much merit is attributable to thoſe who had temper and good ſenſe to reſiſt the baneful ſyſtem of political aſſociations; but I do not attribute to thoſe who did not all the venom, or any part of the ſpirit of revenge you ſo liberally beſtow on them.

You * ſay that the ſpirit of revenge lingered after victory, and that they claim a dominion over their fellow-ſubjects—You paſs over in ſilence the ſpirit of revenge that raged amidſt the Catholics during the conflict, and on what do you ground your charge?—I ſhould have expected from your candour when you charge a body (among whom certainly ſome of the moſt reſpectable members of the community are enrolled) with revenge and love of power, that you would have adduced ſome examples to ſupport you;—they have openly again and again diſavowed every thing like religious perſecution; they have publiſhed extracts from their regulations, tending to ſatisfy the Catholic, that unleſs he is an enemy to his country, they bear no enmity towards him.—

I know,

* Page 17.

I know, indeed, that many acts of atrocity have been attributed to the Orange party ſpirit, but I know alſo, that many of theſe have been explained to me as not involving at all the queſtion.—I do not feel any conviction that the Orange Lodges may not celebrate King William's birth-day as I do myſelf, as the anniverſary of an event that eſtabliſhed civil and religious ſociety on principles of wiſdom, toleration, and liberty; they may drink King William as a John Weſley, but they ſay they do not—you have given us no proof that they do—they have publiſhed reſolutions breathing toleration—you have not ſhewn any to the contrary, or produced examples of perſecution.

I have been led ſo far into an inveſtigation of the origin, principles, and conduct of the Orangemen, not from any wiſh to be underſtood as approving of their principles, but from a deſire to convince the Catholic that they are not ſo objectionable as you and many others repreſent them, and to endeavour to eſtabliſh this poſition, that the man who would concede to the projected Union on the principles either of alarm from, or enmity towards the Orangemen, is poſſeſſed either of ſhameful timidity, or of ten-fold the malignity he would attribute to them—To dread their power, is to mock the government under which we live; to concede our everlaſtingly irrecoverable independence from the dread of a power controuled by the government, of about three

years duration, and which, from the nature of its inſtitution, muſt diſſolve with the circumſtances that led to its formation, would be an act of equal intemperance with that of your committing ſuicide to relieve you from a temporary and naturally healing wound.

But without pretending to much penetration, I can readily diſcover a very inſidious ſcheme at the bottom of all this abuſe thrown out againſt a particular body of the Proteſtants. A pamphlet which came from unqueſtionable authority *, has endeavoured, ſtrange and incredible as it may appear, to kindle anew the ſeeds of diſunion between the Proteſtant and the Catholic. It has talked to the Catholics of their numbers and their diſabilities, and with much addreſs endeavours to ſilence the Catholic oppoſition, and to deter the Proteſtant from the repugnance it was natural to expect he would expreſs, by informing the parties that "Great Britain is not pledged "upon any ſpecific principle to ſupport one "ſect more than the other, nor debarred by any "tie from aſſiſting the Catholic." Much has been made of this aſſertion, to endeavour to convince the Catholic that under an Union his claims would be more likely to be attended to. You aſſiſt the government in the effect they wiſhed that obſervation to make upon the Catholic, by feeding their animoſity againſt the whole Proteſtant body, and explaining the improbability of their

* I mean the one generally attributed to Mr. Cooke.

attaining

attaining their object from them, by painting the bigotry of the Orange Lodges. But let not the Catholic be ſeduced by the writer of that pamphlet; let him take into his conſideration the concluding ſentence of the paragraph from which the words above quoted are an extract, viz. "but if Ireland was once united to Great Britain by a legiſlative Union, and the maintenance of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment were made a fundamental article of that Union, then the whole power of the empire would be pledged to the church eſtabliſhment of Ireland."

But it may be whiſpered, for it will not be more openly declared, that the maintenance of the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment may not be made an article of the Union; that if the Proteſtants oppoſe it, and the Catholics conſent, Great Britain is bound by no tie, not to ſupport the Catholic in preference to the Proteſtant. If you poſſeſſed the ſame real love for the Iriſh Catholic that your publication appears to breathe, you would have told them, as I do, that hopes founded on ſuch principles will end in a fleeting and imaginary viſion. Let the Catholic look to the political hiſtory of Great Britain during the period of the preſent miniſter's power, and he will ſee a ſyſtem of government that ought at one view to convince him of the fallacy of ſuch expectations. Has he ſeen repeated efforts to repeal the teſt acts rejected on ſolemn debate, and does he remember the principles whereon they were refuſed? Does he know that ſtate aſ-

cendancy in its fulleſt extent was then as ſtrongly relied on, as at any period our hiſtory can afford? Does he remember the efforts of epiſcopal zeal to ſupport it, ſeconded and confirmed by almoſt the whole nation? And does he look to a reverſal of that entire ſyſtem, as the price of his acquieſcence to this degrading meaſure? The man who tells him ſo to hope is his worſt deceiver.—Let him look thro' the ſame period and trace the Iriſh hiſtory—What will he there find? a ſyſtem of conceſſion and conciliation—a change in his ſituation, extenſive and emancipating, every diſqualification ſeriouſly injurious, removed, none but a few diſabilities, rather of ambition than reality, remaining. This amelioration how obtained? from a Proteſtant parliament, moved, promoted, and ſecretly impelled by Proteſtant members, a vaſt number of moſt powerful families pledged to endeavour to have the ſyſtem continued, addreſſes procured and voted by Proteſtants declaratory of national fellow feeling and affection, men of honor and of talent their decided friends. Will he look to the parliament of a nation ſo diſpoſed and ſo proved as his mercileſs enemies, and aſſiſt in the annihilation of it out of pure envy, thereby ſealing the eternal continuation of thoſe diſqualifications that, as matters now ſtand, he has every reaſonable proſpect gradually to be relieved from? If he does, he becomes a victim to the intrigues of his enemies, and the folly of thoſe he eſteems his friends, and on ſo important a ſubject I can only

repeat

repeat the prayer of a celebrated Irish character now no more *: "that the God of Truth and of "Juſtice who has long favoured him, and has of "late looked down upon him with ſuch a peculiar "grace and glory of protection, may aſſiſt him "againſt the errors of thoſe that are honeſt, as "well as againſt the machinations of all that are "not ſo."

I do not mean to accuſe you of being a dupe to ſuch ſchemes, much leſs to attribute to you any of the malevolence I think ſuch principles contain; But, I merely ſtate that when you look to the Orange Lodges of this kingdom as a permanent obſtacle to the removal of the Catholic diſabilities, you attribute to them a ſyſtematic connexion, and a degree of weight, that they by no means appear to me to be entitled to. Why were they not in exiſtence to impede the conceſſions already made? becauſe they were made before the rebellion had diſcovered religious fury, or before the perſonal aggreſſion on the northern Proteſtants. You tell the Catholic † "that the Orange men do "not feel their importance, that they overlook "that they ſupply almoſt entirely the labouring "and induſtrious claſſes in ſociety." I conceive the Orange men in their foundation to have ſpeculated upon a full conſideration of their importance rather than their impotence. I look to it as much more grounded in perſonal defence than political intrigue. I never heard of any Orange reſolution

* Mr. Flood. † Page 19.

tending

tending to prevent further extenſion of privilege to the Catholic body; and I venture to prophefy that ſo ſoon as this country ſhall be delivered from the ſeeds and the impreſſions of the rebellion wherein we have been and are ſtill engaged, when perſonal inſecurity ſhall have ceaſed to render ſocial intercourſe unattainable, when Iriſhmen of every deſcription by mutual intercourſe ſhall have ceaſed to dread each other, you will find our national feelings return to that ſtate of harmony that you and I may remember, and then in my comprehenſion will the diſtinction and the order of Orange-men gradually and quickly be diſſolved; and ſhould the evils attendant upon ſuch ſocieties which you ſo juſtly detail, find any increaſe in the ſpeed of their removal from your obſervations thereon, I aſſert it will afford equal pleaſure to me as to you.

You are ingenuous in one part of your memoire. You ſay you conſider the Union more eligible by the ſyſtem of police to which it leads, than on any other conſideration. I do not know a better recommendation any meaſure can carry with it, than its leading to a good ſyſtem of police. But, it is on this ground that you and I moſt materially diſagree, for I conſider the hopes of a compleat and general police as utterly deſtroyed by the meaſure; and as I ground the abſence of Britiſh capital principally on the want of police, whereon you lay ſo very powerful a ſtreſs,

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it is fair that I ſhould with ſome anxiety endeavour to eſtabliſh my poſition.

If I underſtand the principle of a ſound and well regulated police, it conſiſts of many parts, and a co-operation of a number of gradations of rank: it requires a reſident gentleman independant in his property, diſpaſſionate in his feeling, influencing a ſurrounding yeomanry of reſpectable and comfortable eſtabliſhment, who employ with him the labourers of their diſtrict, to whom he enſures juſtice and protection, and among whom he enforces ſubordination, honeſty and ſobriety by example, and, if neceſſary, by terror. It is in the laſt ſtage that I look for the aſſiſtance of the police man; but you ſeem to look for him in the firſt. My ſyſtem appears to me to enſure a circulation of property in the ſpot from whence it is procured, an example of moderation, urbanity and juſtice, a ſet of men zealous to emulate it, and a ſtill inferior ſet obeying it at firſt, but gradually admiring, adopting and embracing it. Your ſyſtem appears to be from firſt to laſt a ſyſtem of terror, and a police regulated not by principle but by the bayonet. We have been latterly forced perhaps to aſſiſt in compelling obedience by force, but while I admit and deplore the neceſſity, I abjure the eſtabliſhment of it as a permanent principle of government; and yet I confeſs it is the only one an Union will ſuffer me to look forward to.

When

When I ſay ſo, it is evident that I feel convinced that the ſyſtem of police I would recommend, would be for ever removed from our hopes by the Union. Of my ſyſtem the reſident Iriſh gentleman is the firſt mover; of him I think the Union would inevitably deprive us, there can be no ſyſtem of internal police of which he muſt not of neceſſity be the main ſpring. It is not to the rapacious agent, or to the temporary and grinding middle tenant, I can look for either example or popularity. They, as birds of paſſage, look only to the moment, and care not whether their objects are effected by the bayonet, or by voluntary compact,—not ſo the permanent holder, his intereſt looks not only to the paſſing ſcene, but to the ſucceeding; every improvement in agriculture and civilization, holds forth permanent improveable amelioration, from him both muſt flow, and without him neither will increaſe. We have ſeen the effects of reſidence and example, poliſhing and enlightening every corner of our iſle. We have ſeen ourſelves horridly caſt back to barbariſm. We behold the men of fortune, our beſt hope for reformation, balancing between a return and an eternal ſeparation, and we are aſked to caſt into the adverſe ſcale, the eternal ſurrender of our parliamentary rights, and with that the eternal aſſurance of their ſeparation and indifference, nay, their deteſtation. Perhaps you may doubt that the meaſure of an Union would enſure the removal of the Iriſh gentleman. I confeſs I do not feel that much is neceſſary to be ſaid on that

part

part of the subject. Human nature, in my mind, affords the best argument. We have found that an imperial court, and a numerous legislature, with the influence and anxiety attendant, have proved very unequal to counter-balance even such attractions, as the so very subordinate a circle as our absentees have moved in in Great Britain has held out; the court and its appendages, may well be considered as the *sun* of our system. Our subordinate and inferior luminary, even as it has been illuminated, has found it hard to preserve a respectable number of attendants. It was found more profitable to be a satellite attendant upon the first mover, than a planet annexed to the secondary, but when you deprive us of all our cherishing and attractive rays, I fear our disk will become truly unilluminated and opake.

And at what moment are our powers of attraction to be annihilated?—Is it when civilization triumphed, when subordination was acknowledged, when agriculture had been progressively improving, when a peaceful and happy residence of six or seven summers had attached the lord to his soil; or when the establishment of a number of manufactories under his protection, and possibly with his pecuniary assistance, had rendered his continuance necessary and delightful? Or is it when he has scarcely ventured to visit his mansion, when every tree in his plantation has presented a concealment for an assassin, when his house

 has

has been the receptacle of military defenders, and his reſidence perhaps the country village neareſt his manſion, where alone he could ſleep in ſafety? Muſt it not be allowed that to perſuade our men of property to live with us now, we ought to be ſuper-endowed with accumulated means of conciliating their reſidence, and not be called upon to ſurrender all their conſequence and rivet their alienation?

How difficult we ſhall find it, even ſituated as we are, to reconnect the orders of ſociety in this kingdom, is a melancholy reflection.—Our higher ranks, from the various aggreſſions they have either ſuſtained perſonally or been witneſſes to, loathing and viewing with fear and abhorrence thoſe with whom they were accuſtomed to interchange the neceſſary duties of ſociety,—while the lower order of people, either from actual habit or the frequency of public crimes, conſidering as trivial thoſe offences, which, before they became familiarized to, they hardly thought poſſible, and living in actual intercourſe with thoſe who commit them, whom formerly they would have driven from their diſtrict,—How tedious and laborious will it be to reunite them—and without a reunion how is the country to become civilized or endurable? Leave the Iriſh peaſant now to his own meditations, and compel him to be decorous by bare dint of power, you will but condenſe and confirm thoſe principles of barbarity and outrage, that as yet are but ſlightly imprinted,

ed, but which on every opportunity will break forth with reanimated force. But if by virtuous example, and the efforts of intereſted philanthropy, you caſt a ſhame upon their vices, the native character may ſtill throw off the newly introduced vices it is yet but acquiring; and the reformation that is the reſult of conviction, and moral feeling, may become laſting and worthy of our confidence. What a different proſpect then does our country preſent, when we contemplate the abſence, and the reſidence, of our men of property?

You labour much * to prove to us, that the removal of the remaining catholic diſqualifications is a matter of pure juſtice, that it will have the effect of reforming the national character, but that it is incompatible with the exiſtence of Orange Lodges, and the preſent ſtate of our politics.—The difference between you and me on this ſubject, as to the eſſential point, is very immaterial. I abhor religious diſtinctions as much as you do. I hold the Catholic Loyaliſt in as high eſtimation as you do. I admire his ambition, I feel for his vexation, when he ſees others paſſing to rank in the ſtate by means from whence he is excluded. —But I do not hold the Orange Lodges as poſſeſſed of all the religious acrimony that you do; —and if they were, I deny their ability to counteract the Government, the Catholic, the Diſſenter, and the Proteſtants who are not Orangemen, in their ſchemes of extenſion of catholic privi-

* Pages 29, 30.

lege whenever it can be judged expedient. You ſay, the rebellion has furniſhed the Orange-men with arguments againſt the catholics, and you ſhew moſt ſatisfactorily that the rebellion ſhould not impede the progreſs of their cauſe. I perfectly concur, and call on you for equal candour, to a poſition of mine, that though the rebellion is not an argument againſt the catholics fundamentally and permanently,—Yet it is a temporary bar to any great conſtitutional change. It has placed the country in a ſituation that requires the beſt exertion of every man in the ſtate, to be directed to one object, the public peace. Catholic privilege is a queſtion of awful importance, the antecedent arrangements are numerous and difficult. Their burdens are neither heavy or intolerant, they ought hardly yet to have recovered from the joyous feelings, that recently removed reſtrictions muſt have created in them, and though I am not one of their body, I venture to aſſert in oppoſition to you, that the maſs of the Catholics are impreſſed with feelings of affection towards the maſs of the Proteſtants, and I do moſt ſincerely and diſintereſtedly recommend to them to rely on ſuch feelings, as the ſureſt means of obtaining their grand object,—they have the beſt grounds for ſuch reliance in the patriotiſm and liberality of this country at large —in the certainty that ſuch a meaſure muſt precede the true glory of this kingdom, and they poſſeſs the beſt and moſt impreſſive earneſt, in the

conceſſions

conceſſions already made.—Should they look to an Union for the means of it, certain muſt be their diſappointment. By the removal of the Parliament, the great object they now aſpire to will be placed for ever beyond their reach.—It will prove, I aſſert, their trueſt wiſdom, to unite with the Proteſtant to defend the Conſtitution—They cannot fail, and at no diſtant day, to become partakers of it.

This is a moment, I may ſay, of mental ferment—'tis difficult to find any man capable of cool reflection.—Should the Catholic madly acquieſce in the propoſed conſtitutional ſurrender, in the hope of participating in the Engliſh Legiſlature, I have already endeavoured to prove that his hopes muſt be fruitleſs—let us then look a little forward—Will this become a country for the reſidence of Proteſtants? They are now poſſeſſed of a great proportion of the wealth of the country; as ſuch, with an additional increaſe of Catholic conſequence, obtained againſt their will by an unconſtitutional violation of the rights of every Iriſhman, will many of them be likely to remain? If not, the proportion of Catholics muſt neceſſarily increaſe, and with that, their reſtleſſneſs under the preſent Church Eſtabliſhment, which you admit ought not to be altered*. When the public mind has recovered from its fever, the Catholic, increaſed in his national proportion, rankling under the continuance of Church Aſcendancy, admitted to no ſhare in the

* Pages 29, 30.

miſerable

miſerable ſhadow of repreſentation that will abſorb all the patronage of the Crown in this kingdom, will be apt to feel the addition of national degradation to his own religious inferiority.—He will lament that he aſſiſted in the removal of that Parliament, from whom he had received the means of acquiring that wealth that has led to his ambition and his diſappointment—He will feel diſguſt, that the means he looked to for the gratification of his favourite objects, have proved the eternal barrier to his attaining it—He will feel with increaſed diſguſt, that the whole was but a ſcheme for ſubjecting his country to a foreign tribute, ſcarcely appearing to be voted by its repreſentatives.—The kingdom then, almoſt wholly Catholic, will ſpurn at the tributary connexion with a nation wholly Proteſtant; and then, indeed, will the Catholics, in a body, look to a ſeparation; then will every thing that has lately paſſed before our eyes, be reiterated with accumulated *vigour*, *but with palſied* oppoſition, while our unhappy country may ſink beneath the calamity, ſo low as hardly to be worth contending for.

I ſeriouſly conſider this meaſure of an Union, if carried, as the certain foundation of future attempts at ſeparation that will involve us in endleſs civil wars, and ſubject us to inceſſant attempts by intrigues and falſe hopes to countenance French connexion.—Look to the political hiſtory of the world for the laſt thirty years, and try

if

if the public mind has graduated towards ſlavery, or freedom—How individual was public exertion in America to ſhake off the yoke of foreign power—How zealous was the fruitleſs and lamentable ſtruggle of the Pole to preſerve the connexion and independence of his country—How vaſt is the power by which the conqueſt is retained—How immenſely diſproportionate were the numbers of the invading French army to the poſſible exertions of the valiant Swiſs—How honourable their oppoſition even to a Republican Union,—How truly grievous their lot. But theſe exertions afford me abundant grounds for one aſſertion, that formed as the public mind now is, imperial conceſſion is not at this moment a wiſe foundation for fœderal connexion.

You appear to me * as deſirous of impreſſing on the public mind, that whatever ſhare of interference religion has had in the rebellion was attributable to the Catholic inferiority, which, as you hint, had vilified his mind.—This furniſhes me with one obſervation as to the propriety of agitating the public mind at this moment by the diſcuſſion of the Catholic queſtion.—What are the diſqualifications from which the Catholics have been relieved ſince the year 1778, or I think I ſhould rather aſk, what is left that the Catholic peaſant can complain of? Have the various immunities to which he has been advanced, made

* Pages 26, 27.

no

no impreſſion on him? Have they induced no gratitude, no pride, no ſelf-importance? Has the effect of the conſtitutional prerogative that he has but once exerciſed already eſcaped from his mind, or does he think that he has poſſeſſed it from beyond the time of memory? If he is ſo inſtructed, if he is taught that all he has obtained is immaterial, and can be perſuaded yet to be guilty of acts founded in bigotry and perſecution, he muſt be filled with a degree of ignorance, that never will admit the introduction of ſuch generous ſympathies as ought to precede final conſtitutional participation.

And the inſtance you adduce fortifies me—You ſay that when the Orange Societies made their appearance, the Catholics ſaw a myſterious aſſociation, and therefore ſought for arms—I ſay if they did ſo, they were ignorant and ungrateful—Had they looked to the Government for protection, they would have found it there—Had they looked to the Proteſtant for explanation, they would have found aſſurances that muſt have produced ſatisfaction, and in many inſtances, perhaps, co-operation; but Catholics like thoſe of Wexford, who were induced to acts of unparallelled cruelty, by way of retaliation, forgot the Proteſtant Acts which had ſo recently benefited them—they yielded to the old inſtigation of religious vengeance, and as far as their numbers went, diſgraced their body; ſuch men, you muſt admit, deſerve not imperial participation.——

When

When one partial act of myſtery can counterbalance years of open and courted fraternity, the mind cannot be ſaid to be in a ſtate fit for general affiliation.—If gradual conceſſions do not as gradually do away antipathies that ought to be obſolete, no man can argue for equal participation.

I have ſaid that a moment of popular ferment is unfit for diſcuſſion of important ſtate ſubjects, and with that feeling I cannot help expreſſing much diſpleaſure at the very inflammatory language* with which a writer of your profeſſed moderation treats the remaining diſqualifications of the Catholics in temporal matters, for the ſpiritual you give up, and that too with an admiſſion in the midſt of them, "that it is idle, conſidering "the number affected by them, to treat of them "at this day as a very oppreſſive burthen." That opinion is in my mind too univerſal for you to combat, yet why do you accompany your admiſſion of it with declarations that "people meet "the affected ſuperiority of a neighbour in daily "ſupercilioufneſs of look and geſture, and in all "the ordinary offices of intercourſe," and with ſaying "that the aſſertion, that by the law of the "land I am your ſuperior, is calculated to create "controverſy and pique;" and you! then accompany the proofs of the reſtleſſneſs of Proteſtant ſuperiority by the inſertion of an Orange ſtanza that could only influence minds as vulgar as that of the compoſer of it. After the advances made

* Pages 29, 30, 31, 32.

towards a good underſtanding between theſe religions you conceive ſo ſtrong in their rivalry, after the gradual progreſſion towards equality conceded from the one to the other, with no oppreſſive burthen remaining, is it good ſenſe to recur to ſuch ſtale and common-place obſervations, or to inſert ſuch a paltry reviling? Is it that you fear the Catholic body are too near an Union with their Proteſtant fellow-ſubjects? I am ſure it is not, for I believe you heartily wiſh to promote it; but I muſt without ceremony ſay that I conſider ſuch obſervations at this time to admit of moſt dangerous conſequences. It is pretty well underſtood that the meaſure of an Union is not to be forced againſt the wiſhes of the people, and it is equally well underſtood that a great majority of the Proteſtants are againſt it. If the government are as deſirous of obtaining it as I believe them to be, (truſting with perfect reliance on Mr. Pitt's conviction of the importance of it to himſelf) I know no means of furthering it ſo obvious as to ſecure the acquieſcence, or even the indifference, of the Catholic. And how can ſuch a ſcheme be better promoted than by rekindling their animoſity towards the Proteſtant, by endeavours to ſhew them that their intereſts are diſtinct, that it will level at once ſuch ſupercilious ſuperiority, and involve them both in one common degradation. Such arguments may for a moment create a pauſe, but they contain too much fallacy to remain long with any operation; and I foreſee that

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the detection of the inſidious object held out will animate the oppoſition to the meaſure, and unite the whole kingdom in one univerſal burſt of indignation and rejection.

After recounting a variety of cauſes, which, as you conceive, led to the failure of the Catholic queſtion, and which, whether they did or not, appear to me wholly inapplicable to the preſent ſubject, you proceed * to ſay, "that the train "of evils you have laid down are not within the "competence of the Iriſh parliament to rectify." I really am at a loſs to diſcover throughout your memoire what train of evils you allude to. You confine your obſervations generally to the Catholic queſtion, on which you have dilated with conſiderable force of argument, but I think it ill directed and ill timed. You endeavour to infuſe into the Catholic the inadmiſſibility of his claims through the medium of the Proteſtant, and moſt particularly deſcribe the parliament as the place of all others where he muſt make it with leaſt hopes of ſucceſs; and the only manner your obſervations can apply to the queſtion you propoſe to treat of is, by your endeavours to reconcile to the Catholic the removal of a body hoſtile to his advancement. A publication tending to raiſe ſuch ſentiments would have been wholly unexplainable, had you not avowed your partiality for Great Britain, and if the public mind had not required ſome unnatural ſubject to create a

* Page 38.

diviſion, for without ſhewing the Catholic ſome extraneous ground to induce his concurrence, he muſt naturally be led to join the Proteſtant in his deteſtation of the meaſure.

I have already thrown out many grounds to induce the Catholic to confide in the Proteſtant, as the ſure means of his attaining the removal of ſuch diſqualifications as can be diſpenſed with, without the ſurrender of the ſpiritual aſcendancy. How many men of experience, ability, and conſequence in this kingdom ſtand pledged to the meaſure at all times? How many more have diſſented, not from general principles, but from temporary motives, who have argued in concurrence with the received opinion of many able ſtateſmen, that great political changes ſhould proceed gradually: that to level at once all religious diſtinctions in a ſtate, would be to make an experiment, the iſſue whereof might be fatal? Has the amount of the conceſſions already made been conſiderable, and the progreſs of them rapid? Will not the religious diſſenſion, while it exiſts, be an inconceivable drawback on the proſperity of the country? Will it admit of our ever venturing to engage in any national object that may require univerſal coincidence of will and of action? Will not intercourſe and ſocial communication break down the prejudices which ſtand in the way, and will not the general advantage to the country preſs the matter forward, and carry it into effect, in ſpite of prejudice or party? How

numerous

numerous and irreſiſtible are the grounds whereon the Catholic ſhould ſtand with certainty for the full attainment of his wiſhes, as matters now are? But how equally irreſiſtible will be the obſtacles he will have to encounter after the propoſed change? You tell him that there are "extravagant accumulations of ſovereign powers in the hands of a few men," which muſt ſtand for ever in their way. If there are ſuch accumulations, let the Catholic examine the principles of thoſe in whoſe hands they are placed, and let him learn that many of them ſtand pledged to the attainment of his object. Let him with diſpaſſionate reflection view his intereſt as it ſtands in the nation and he will ſee that his political ſituation muſt acquire gradual increaſe; but how will it be loſt in the ſcale of the empire, when he parts with that parliament, of which alone he can ever be a partaker, and of which his body now conſtitute a majority of the electors. Let him diſcredit every ſpeculatiſt who tells him that parliament are incompetent to his admiſſion.

If you intended any alluſion to the rebellion and the cauſes of it, which you would argue that our parliament are incompetent to remove, I muſt beg to expreſs my moſt unqualified diſſent. I think this is one of the moſt prominent features where the ſuperiority of a domeſtic to a foreign parliament is diſcoverable. Look to the code of laws calculated to meet every ſtep in the gradation of rebellion, and which though unable to con-

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trol the unbounded exertions of our ſecret enemies, yet were of the utmoſt advantage in checking and oppoſing it. Look to the report of the Committees of both Houſes. See the evidence they waded through, written and unwritten: could the developement of a myſtery of ſuch complication have taken place in any other country, or by the inveſtigation of any other parliament? Surely matters of this nature require the prompt deciſion and the accurate information of a legiſlative body acting on the very ſpot where the evil exiſts.

I ſhould have expected that a writer who ſeems to have the ſucceſs of the meaſure ſo much at heart as you do, would not have confined his arguments in ſupport of it to a ſhort catalogue of evils to be removed, and totally omit any perſuaſive obſervations, grounded on advantages to be conferred.—Perhaps you tried it, and having found, after deep reſearch, that every attempt at argument, grounded on advantages to be conferred, ended in a circle, you very prudently relinquiſhed that very operative mode of conviction; and it would, in my mind, be equally prudent in every writer on that ſide of the queſtion to follow your example.—Indeed, the moſt warm advocates for the meaſure, confine their promiſes on that ſide of the ſubject to two points, extremely deſirable I confeſs, viz. internal peace, and external commerce; but I own I have heard

little

little to ſeduce me to conſider either of them as likely to be improved by it.

As to the promotion of internal peace from the meaſure, I have already mentioned the ſubject, and endeavoured to argue that it would be much more injured than improved by it.—As to commerce, I certainly am unequal to go into the detail of the ſubject, but there are a few thoughts that have occurred to me, as to the general probability of our being benefited by the change, that I ſhall here ſubjoin.

The great and leading objection to the ſurrender, in a commercial point of view, ariſes from the degree of rivalſhip that already exiſts between the two kingdoms on that ſubject, and that is likely to encreaſe as we get forward in proſperity.—The oppoſition of the Britiſh merchants to the propoſitions of 1785, which were of ſo inconſiderable conſequence as to be rejected by this kingdom, is one example worth a thouſand, to ſatisfy us of their attachments to their own intereſt.—Indeed, the general character of the Britiſh merchant, the firſt for enterprize and knowledge in every branch of trade with every corner of the globe, is known to be as univerſally eſtabliſhed for intrigue and excluſion;—add to this, the immenſe difference between us in point of capital—Will you attempt then to argue, that it is ſafe to ſurrender our ſtill infant manufacture, and far from matured trade, to the actual controul of men elected and influenced by the Engliſh

liſh merchant.—Though in every branch of legiſlation the conceſſion might be deſirable, the danger attendant upon this would, in my mind, be a very ſufficient counterbalance—this is the great ſource of our proſperity—it is by this that we are to attain to that rank, and that wealth, that nature ſeems to have pointed out as our portion, from our ſituation and our internal reſources; and it ought not to be hazarded for any tranſitory gratifications, ſuppoſing them even to exiſt.

But how is the great increaſe of trade to be promoted—Is it argued that Ireland is ſituated upon the map ſo advantageouſly, as that ſhe might become a kind of emporium for the entire of Europe to reſort to for the purchaſe of Weſt Indian commodities?—In my apprehenſion not—ſhe contains admirable materials for ſucceſs in the promotion of manufactures of various kinds, and will certainly arrive at population to make uſe of every advantage ſhe poſſeſſes; but to talk of foreign imports, all I would aſk for her would be, that ſhe might arrive at the excluſive carrying and importing all the materials neceſſary for her conſumption, and for her manufacture.—— England now, with little exception, enjoys the carrying trade for both kingdoms—through her we obtain moſt of our ſugars and Weſt Indian articles.—I ſhould hope, indeed, that we might ſoon obtain that by ourſelves; but I have not the vanity to aſpire to be the carrier of Weſt India product for England, or the channel through which

which ſhe will receive it.—Let every man, therefore, who talks of encreaſe of commerce, *be aſſured that* the diminution of conſumption may not counterbalance any advantage the meaſure holds out; and the diminution, I ſhould fear, would be immenſe, when I conſider that every abſentee who leaves this kingdom draws with him at leaſt one artizan, and every artizan, perhaps, ſix working mechanics.—How this will operate a few years will evince, with, I dread, moſt melancholy proof.

My laſt obſervation is grounded on a ſuppoſition, that our commercial ſyſtem is capable of being amended by conceſſions from Great Britain—Whether it be or not, is for thoſe who are verſed in the ſubject to decide—from every thing I have been able to learn on the ſubject, our commercial rank needs not, indeed is not ſuſceptible of, much improvement; but admitting that it does require ſome alteration, and that Great Britain is willing to purchaſe our legiſlative ſurrender by a grant of commercial immunity; it does not, in my mind, follow that we would be prudent in accepting of the terms.—The benefit derived to our trade may perhaps be counterbalanced by the injury ſuſtained by our private ſecurity; the want of the latter may annihilate the means of taking advantage of the former; but, above all, let every Iriſhman conſider—Has not nature entitled us to as free a trade as Great Britain.—You are eloquent and forcible in your

reaſoning upon the equality of the Iriſh Catholic and Proteſtant, and triumphantly ſay, "this "world was made for Cæſar *," but your admitted partiality for Great Britain has blinded your diſcrimination as to the equality of the Engliſh and Iriſh character, for you ſeem to me to conſider the equality of mankind, and the equality of nations, as ſubject to very different modifications. For my part, I think better of Great Britain, than you with all your predilection appear to me to do, for I look forward with hope, to the removal of every jealous reſtriction, if any exiſt—in the certainty that our increaſed connexion will lead to increaſed affection,—but ſhould it not, I ſtill am againſt "bar-"tering conſtitution for commerce," feeling perfectly contented with the gradual advance we have latterly made in trade and proſperity, and which ever increaſes in its rapidity during its progreſs.

It is ſaid and appears to be relied on, that parts of this kingdom are likely to be much benefited in a commercial point of view by the projected Union,—and the the manly oppoſition made by Dublin, is ſought to be frittered away by inſinuations, that the intereſted feelings of its inhabitants, on account of the probable injury the metropolis would ſuſtain, was the true cauſe of it. This argument admits of one objection that tells

* Page 32.

very

very ſtrongly againſt the meaſure to every part of the kingdom, viz. the injury to the metropolis.—Our rank amongſt nations in point of civiliſation is ſtill below mediocrity, our manners admit of ſtill conſiderable improvements, and the fine arts, I may ſay but lately introduced, have a vaſt journey indeed to travel, before they will arrive at an honourable maturity. It is by a metropolis of conſiderable extent, that the continuance of their progreſs among us can be ſecured. Will a deſerted and tumbling city induce amongſt us reſident artificers of eminence, or teachers of experience,—Will the ſtage, that great improver of taſte, and corrector of morals, already ſo much on the decline, ever rear its head in a city deprived of its court and its wealth?—Let not then a ſelfiſh hope of advancement hazard the proſpect of refinement among us, but let every man feel impreſſed with the opinion of a profound philoſopher *,—" that the ages of refinement are both " the happieſt and moſt virtuous."

There is another obſervation I would addreſs to the merchants of the ſouth, to whom I muſt be already underſtood to have alluded—which is, that a change of the direction of public trade can be no argument for the meaſure. If one part of the country is injured as much as the other is improved, there is little national feeling annexed to the man, who would for partial im-

* Mr. Hume.

provement, ſurrender general independence.—Beſides, let the idea I have hinted on the ſubject of conſumption be taken into conſideration, and let the ſouthern merchant calculate whether even ſuppoſing that the deſtruction of the trade of the metropolis would enſure the whole of it to center there, the advantages might not be counbalanced by the general decreaſe of conſumption, and whether he would not on the whole find his ſituation at leaſt not bettered by the meaſure.

There is a temporary argument againſt the meaſure, which ſtrikes me with a degree of force that would render it criminal to paſs it over.—I have ſtated that in my apprehenſion, the firſt moment of cool deliberation after the meaſure is carried, would preſent this province to Great Britain, compoſed of diſcontented Proteſtants, diſappointed and betrayed Catholics, and degraded Diſſenters.—The emiſſaries of the French republic found in this kingdom, notwithſtanding the loyalty it ſhewed, a melancholy number of our people whoſe diſcontents made them fit objects for their ſchemes. What increaſe this meaſure might produce, I tremble to reflect on. If this country, with the zealous ardour of the yeomanry, and the love for the conſtitution they evinced, afforded to France ſuch means of attacking the power of Great Britain, as with a view to it alone, to induce her to break off the negotiations at Liſle; with what accumulated force of argument will Mr. Tone's ſucceſſor at

a future

a future conference, recommend a repetition of the experiment among a nation, almoſt to a man diſcontented, and having no conſtitution to inſpire the inhabitants with a renewal of their ardour? I ſay, France muſt be frantic, not to yield to ſuch argument; and that the meaſure will lead irreſiſtibly to a repetition of invaſion, and the prolongation of a war, that has ſo fevereley fallen on every deſcription of Britiſh ſubjects, though attended with unuſual traits of glory.

Your concluding argument *, appears to me to afford but little ground, to diminiſh the natural averſion we muſt conceive to the adoption of the meaſure.—You talk of the urgent intereſt of the Imperial Government, of the neceſſity of her bringing forward all the energies of its remaining territory; and when you talk of the neceſſity of univerſal action againſt France,—You tell us, that "her power muſt ſo terrify "the Britiſh miniſter, as to ſhield us from in-"juſtice and partiality."—If nothing but an intereſted motive can enſure us a kind policy, it is not prudent to concede every thing to a tribunal ſo ſelf-devoted. Every hour will not equally preſs her, and enforce her to be juſt—in the moments of continental quiet, ſhe might commercially annihilate us; and I like not the omnipotent power, that requires neceſſity as the governing principle to lead to its juſtice; attached,

* Page 41.

connected,

connected, and devoted, as we are, to one common fate,—muſt we ſurrender our intereſt to inſure our protection? Is our national importance ſo trivial, that without an Union the policy of England would be juſtified in being unkind,—I ſhould hope ſhe felt differently. Indeed, we have examples that ſhe does. The dependance of our parliament was long a bone of contention between the two kingdoms, the removal of the cauſe ſilenced the diſpute,—How many ſupporters had Great Britain during the rebellion of 1798,—that had the conſtitution remained as it was in 1781, would have been at beſt paſſive? It is not good policy to create anew a ſtumbling block, that has already been the ſubject of ſo much political antipathy. We now truly participate the Britiſh conſtitution, and would hazard every thing in its defence. But if you remove the ſource of our exertion, the effect of it may become in-operative, by poſſibility repugnant.

The reaſons that I have offered, make me with much deciſion reject the diſcuſſion of the ſubject of an Union. It is a ſubject that appears to me to be fraught with internal danger, and external injury, and to call for an awful revolutionary furrrender, without any equivalent, or in any point of view, a ſubſtantial conſideration. Diſcuſſing it as a native of this country, it muſt be conſidered I feel a national prejudice, that may ſubject my opinion to the objection of intereſted conſideration,—Yet, I have endeavour-

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ed to diveſt myſelf of falſe and ſenſeleſs pride, to view the ſubject in every ſhape of projected benefit; and I have found it impoſſible to trace one ſolid advantage, that can ariſe to the kingdom from the meaſure. The diſadvantages and dangers to which it ſubjects it, to my comprehenſion are manifold, and therefore, I feel myſelf ſheltered from the charge of endeavouring to rouſe in my countrymen a falſe pride, when I addreſs them by the general term of Iriſhmen, and call upon them as one people, that hope to coaleſce and to form a powerful nation, the pride and ſinew of Great Britain,—to ſpeak forth regardleſs of diſtinction one voice, and to tell the empire with one unanimous declaration, that they feel, reſpect, and will maintain their freedom.

If this appeared to me to be the language of ſeparation, I would be the laſt man in the ſtate that could give it utterance; but moſt fervently do I declare, that in no one point of view do I conſider the Union more deplorable than in its tendency to a ſeparation. One queſtion it would ſeem might afford a proof of this, Has the connexion ſince 1782 been looſened or cemented? If my countrymen will attend to the language of that day, how forcibly does it apply to my opinion. Let it be remembered, that when the conceſſion of Iriſh independence was avowed from the throne, the firſt emanation of Iriſh gratitude, and which was received with delight by the em-

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pire was, that "gratified as we were, we did "assure his Majesty that no constitutional ques- "tion between the two nations would any longer "exist, that could interrupt their harmony; and "that Great Britain, as she had approved of our "firmness, so might she rely on our affec- "tion *."

Here was a parliamentary declaration voted by many of our present representatives, that the removal of constitutional disqualifications must lead to national cement and co-operation. Surely the recorded tranquil opinion of such men, at a moment of national triumph, must weigh more in the opinion of Irishmen, than the heated, if not timid conception the present moment might lead to. But we are not left to the bare decision of Irish feeling on the subject, for we have a recorded declaration of the British Cabinet, pronounced by a nobleman, whose abilities now contribute to the government of the united empire, that must silence clamour, and render doubt shameless. We were addressed through our legislative bodies, at the conclusion of that memorable session, by his Grace the Duke of Portland, in the following words: "The great and consti- "tutional advantages you have secured to your "country, and the wise and magnanimous con- "duct of Great Britain, in contributing to the "success of your steady and temperate exertions, "call for my congratulations on the close of a

* Address to the King, voted Monday, May 27, 1782.

"session,

" ſeſſion, which muſt ever reflect the higheſt ho-
" nour on the national character of both king-
" doms."

" It muſt be a moſt pleaſing conſideration to
" you to recollect, that in the advances you
" made towards the ſettlement of your conſtitu-
" tion, no acts of violence or impatience have
" marked their progreſs. A religious adherence
" to the laws confined your endeavours within
" the ſtricteſt bounds of loyalty and good order.
" Your claims were directed by the ſame ſpirit
" that gave riſe and ſtability to the liberty of
" Great Britain, and could not fall of ſucceſs,
" *as ſoon as the councils of that kingdom were in-*
" *fluenced by the avowed friends of the conſtitu-*
" *tion.*"

" Such a ſpirit of conſtitutional liberty com-
" municating itſelf from one kingdom to the
" other, muſt naturally produce that reciprocal
" confidence and mutual affection, of which we
" already begin to feel the moſt ſalutary effects.
" A grateful zeal and generous ardour have
" united this whole kingdom in the moſt cordial
" and vigorous exertions, which promiſe effect-
" ually to fruſtrate the deſigns of our common
" enemy, and to re-eſtabliſh and ſecure the glory
" of the whole empire*."

* Speech from the Throne, Saturday, July 27, 1782.

Here is the language of an Engliſh ſenator, the congratulatory addreſs to both kingdoms, on Iriſh emancipation. He has firſt told *us* that the advantages we then gained called for congratulation; that the conduct of Great Britain in ceding to our exertions was wiſe and magnanimous, and that the *ſeſſion muſt for ever reflect the higheſt honor on both kingdoms.* May no ſubſequent one by the annihilation of the immunities we then obtained, reflect the reverſe!!

He next commends our temperate conduct during the ſtruggle, and tells us, that we were actuated by the ſame ſpirit that give riſe and ſtability to the liberty of Great Britain; that *when the Britiſh councils were influenced by the avowed friends of the conſtitution; that the cauſe of Iriſh liberty could not fail of ſucceſs*; thus aſſerting that Iriſh liberty then formed a principle of the Britiſh conſtitution.

He then aſſures you, *that the ſpirit of conſtitutional liberty communicating itſelf from one kingdom to the other, muſt produce confidence and affection.*——How baneful may the ſtuggle againſt ſlavery prove?—How injurious its example?—Could his Grace have foreſeen the preſent moment, and have wiſhed to furniſh this country with an opinion againſt the meaſure, he could ſcarcely have conveyed more intereſting truths than theſe few ſtrong ſentences contain.

HE LASTLY TELLS YOU THAT THE CONSTITUTIONAL CONCESSION UNITED THE KINGDOM,

DOM, AND ESTABLISHED THE GLORY OF THE EMPIRE.

Should it prove the hard fate of our preſent Chief Governor, to addreſs us on the 27th of May 1799, when he may unfortunately be compelled to exerciſe his official duty in the Houſe of Peers, by giving the Royal Aſſent to the Bill of Union, if he wiſhes to rank as a prophet, he will accompany our ſubjugation with a ſpeech the critical reverſe of that delivered at our glorious emancipation.

But I ſhould truſt that event is not to be dreaded —ſurely "our temperate and ſteady exertions" will have as much avail at all times in *retaining* a Conſtitution we poſſeſs, as they had at that time in obtaining the conceſſion of one we did not. But that ſuch exertions would now be ſucceſsful, admits of no doubt. It is our peculiar good fortune that the Britiſh Councils muſt now be influenced by the ſame ſpirit; that the wiſe Senator who gave us here that ſolemn admonition, to revere our Conſtitution, then newly acquired, is now the Secretary of State for the Home Department in Great Britain, and will unqueſtionably prove the truth of the adage, that

Cœlum non animum mutant qui trans mare currunt.

May our patriotiſm, good ſenſe, and loyalty, give Great Britain on this occaſion, a ſecond op-

portunity of commending "our ſteady and "temperate firmneſs" in ſupport of our rights, and may every ſubſequent tranſaction worthy being recorded in hiſtory be a prominent proof of "our affection."

FINIS.

THE Gentleman to whom this Letter is addreſſed, is requeſted to conſider it as proceeding ſolely from the writer's wiſh to prevent *religious diviſions* from operating ſo as to induce any claſs of his countrymen to be actuated at this moment by *prejudice*, to which, in his conception, the Memoire on the projected Union very forcibly leads.

He will alſo, ſhould he deem it worthy of peruſal, and light upon any expreſſion that conveys to him a ſymptom of improper warmth, reſt aſſured that it is directed to his arguments *only*, and accept the writer's apology.

A

REPLY

To the Gentleman who has publiſhed a Pamphlet, entitled "Arguments for and againſt an Union."

IN WHICH

Mr. M'Kenna's Memoire is taken into Conſideration.

By ISAAC BURKE BETHEL, Eſq.

BARRISTER AT LAW.

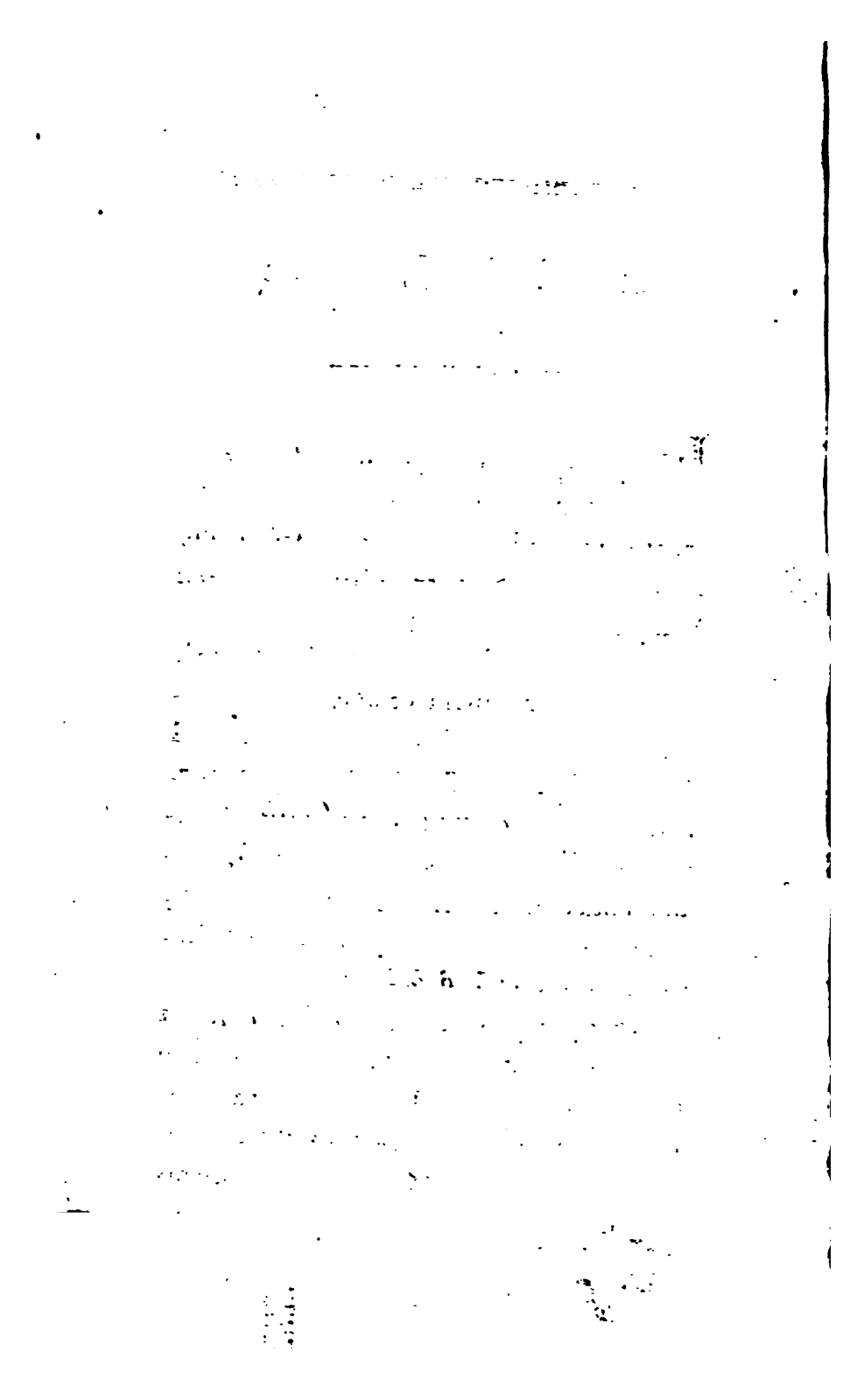
Nos patriâ amiſsâ dominis parere ſuperbis
Cogemur.

VIRG.

DUBLIN:

Printed by W. GILBERT, 26, South Great George's-Street.

1799.



A REPLY, &c.

IN all ſubjects that are to be ſpoken to, or written upon, the difficulty lies in the manner that ſubject is to be entered upon, how the merits of it are to be diſcuſſed and brought to an argumentative concluſion.

In giving my thoughts on a ſubject that is of ſuch magnitudinal import to the honor and intereſts of my native land, I ſhall moſt cautiouſly avoid coming into perſonal contact with any of thoſe Gentlemen who have gone before me, leſt in the notice that I ſhould beſtow on the writer, I ſhould be betrayed into an obſervance of the individual.

Having read with profound attention a Pamphlet, intitled "Arguments for and againſt an Union," I own that the impreſſion made on my mind by thoſe argu-

ments has not been of that weight, as to diſable me from ſhewing myſelf ſuperior to that weakneſs which momentarily ſuffered it.—" If," ſays the Pamphleteer, " this queſtion is to be decided by paſſion, or by force, there is no miſchief which the agitation of the queſtion may not produce; if it is to be determined on its merits, it cannot fail to be uſeful. In one caſe the rejection or adoption of it would terminate in diſcontent or convulſion; in the other, the reſult of conviction would produce ſatisfaction."—I moſt implicitly agree with the learned Politician, that if there is any thing like paſſion or force uſed or attempted to be uſed, either in the propoſal or the accompliſhment of ſuch a meaſure as that of an Union between this Country and Great Britain, that it will terminate in diſcontent or convulſion.

Now for the merits, which, he ſays, muſt be examined with philoſophic temper, he propoſes, as a means to make us happy as a people, (preſuppoſing us very unhappy) living as we do, ſingly and independent,

dependent, that we ſhould unite ourſelves with a happy and proſperous Nation, and thereby participate in its happineſs and proſperity—moſt certainly, if this were an Iſland filled with Savages and Barbarians, having no idea of Agriculture, of Commerce, of Law, Phyſic or Divinity, it would be condeſcending and humane in the proud and the poliſhed Briton to wiſh us to *unite* with him, in order that our morals and manners might be faſhioned to his own, in order that we might be taught that obedience to the law, that honeſty in dealing, that decency, and that obſervance of the Chriſtian religion, which make England at once the envy and admiration of the world. But until I can be brought to think that my Countrymen are in ſuch a want of cultivation, I muſt reſiſt with indignation, I will not ſay *force*, the kind condeſcenſion of the accompliſhed Engliſhman.

Whatever condition this kingdom, (ſtanding as ſhe is, naturally independent of any other) was in, previous to the year

1782,

1782, however ſhe might have been dictated to by Britiſh emiſſaries, whoſe political friendſhip for this Country made it always ſubſervient to their own, however the commerce of this Country was reſtricted, and her conſtitution unacknowledged and kept down; yet the idea of putting poor Ireland on a footing with England, by bringing her Parliament and its Members acroſs the channel, never entered the brain of any of thoſe emiſſaries.

It is ſtrange, that notwithſtanding the high commercial advantages we obtained in that ever memorable year, and which have continued to us—notwithſtanding we have ſhewed ourſelves competent to decide for ourſelves, in every thing that has relation with Church and State,—it is ſtrange indeed, that after a period of ſixteen years univerſally progreſſive improvement, a meaſure ſhould now be attempted ſo ſubverſive of common order, common ſenſe, and common compact.

The author in ſupport of his reaſons in favor of his propoſed meaſure has in my mind

mind moſt unhappily mentioned two or three caſes which he preſumes to be in point, but which I moſt humbly preſume to be the contrary; when the Seven United Provinces, being *cruelly* oppreſſed by the Spaniſh government, ſeparated from that government, in order to eſcape from tyranny, &c. and when the Sabines found they could not maintain themſelves any longer againſt the Romans, they then united themſelves, after they could not maintain themſelves, and you ſay they acted according to the principles of reaſon and good ſenſe in ſubmitting to the Roman yoke, *i. e.* becauſe they could not maintain themſelves! ſo that becauſe they could not maintain themſelves againſt Rome, Rome maintained herſelf againſt them in the plunder of her liberties and in the raviſhment of their wives and daughters; ergo, if we cannot maintain ourſelves againſt the monſter that is now in embryo, he will riſe up and cruſh us to the earth.

I moſt ſincerely thank you, Sir, for what you call this reaſoning againſt all declamation

motion upon the common topics of "*national dignity* and *national pride*." I do not know a more effectual way of silencing declamation than the hint you ſo good naturedly throw out—let a man if a meaſure is propoſed to him that degrade him, his family and his country, let him cry out againſt that meaſure in the voice of thunder—ſtrangle him and you will ſoon put an end to his declamation.

If any perſon ſhould aſk you why you done ſo? ſay that your ear was not fitted to hear Iriſh muſic, and that you acted upon the authority of ROMAN EXAMPLE and ROMAN GREATNESS.

If any one ſhould aſk you if you were aware of the murder that you had committed, and the events which followed it, in order to complete the deed, namely, the rapine, the maſſacre, the *carnage in every ſenſe of the word* by the "*brave and orderly ſoldiery*,"—tell them that the Sabines met with the ſame fate for their impudence and obſtinacy.

England, ſay you, was formerly divided

into

into ſeven kingdoms, and by that diviſion the iſland was a general ſcene of confuſion; but a ſagacious Prince brought them together and they then eat of the ſame regimen, they aſſociated under one code of government and one ſovereignty, and became happy—In the name of common ſenſe how does this apply to the queſtion that you ſaid ſhould be debated with philoſophy—a few petty provinces within the realm, and bounded by the ſame ſea, hold out in a kind of petty rebellion, diſtinct in their laws and manners, againſt the King of England, and were deſervedly puniſhed for their treaſon.

I ſuſpect, Sir, that you were driven to thoſe caſes, in order to cover the dark and ambiguous expreſſion you make uſe of in your firſt page, namely, that of bringing about your favorite meaſure *by force*; what a fatal day for Ireland and alſo for England! —" How is a Welſhman, ſay you, degraded by being repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament. How ridiculous! a Welchman who can on foot walk and inſtruct his re-

preſentative. How can a Scot be enſlaved by becoming a Briton—I anſwer, he is in the ſame kingdom with a Briton. It is the ſurveyor of the land who divides him by conſtruction and by rule; the Scot alſo can on foot put his wooden pipe and tobacco in his pocket, and ſee his repreſentative in a couple of days.—The caſe is not ſo with an Iriſhman; he ſeldom travels from his country but to ſerve his King, and when he does, that it is from *voluntary impulſe*, and not *mean ſubmiſſion*.

That "Naval greatneſs," which my political adverſary ſays is "unrivalled," owes much of that greatneſs to the unpurchaſed valour of Iriſhmen.—But that moment that an Iriſhman is told that his Parliament is gone, that his landlord reſides in another kingdom, for the purpoſe of repreſenting him, that he muſt, in order to inſtruct him in any meaſure which would be beneficial to his country, endure the expence and the danger of a ſea voyage, that moment he withdraws himſelf from ſo extravagant an idea, he withdraws himſelf

ſelf from that confidence which he repoſes in his repreſentative, and would conceive that he was bound to alienate himſelf from his allegiance.—" Ireland will be gradually riſing to the level of England;" that is, if there is an Union. As well might the learned gentleman tell me that a ſervant is on a level with his maſter, if he is on the ſame floor with him.

As to the paragraph where he ſays, that a man by being introduced to good company will hob nob with more elegance, this is ſo puerile, ſo nonſenſical, and ſo dancing-maſter like, that as an Iriſhman I cannot ſtoop to notice it.—" Suppoſing there were no other reaſons which rendered the Union of the ſiſter kingdom deſireable, the ſtate of Europe, and eſpecially of France, ſeem to dictate its peculiar policy at the preſent day." Here again the author ſuppoſes we are made to be dupes to Engliſh artifice, and to Engliſh policy; for he ſays, that France has incorporated a great addition of territory, but has rendered abſolutely dependent on her will

almoſt

almoſt all the ſmaller ſtates that ſurround her—and by what means has ſhe done that, indeed ſhe did not write a Pamphlet on the ſubject, ſo far ſhe acted up to the treachery of her character, but there is ſtill an inapplication—thoſe ſmaller ſtates that ſhe had ſubdued and plundered were in hoſtility to her;—are we in hoſtility with England? Good God is it becauſe that a few ambitious young men, placed themſelves at the head of a ridiculous mob in the interior parts of Ireland, that the genius, the ſpirit, and the loyalty of Dublin are to be ſacrificed;—that genius, and that ſpirit, and that loyalty which put down rebellion, and reſiſted the contagious enemy, and beat him from our ſhore, are they to be addreſſed thus by Britons.—"Iriſhmen, for the laſt 12 months we have been much troubled with your internal diviſions, you have correſponded with our powerful enemy France, you have ſhewed her how ſhe might invade you and detach you from us, and you have done every thing that threatens the overthrow

of

of our Monarchy, we therefore think proper to curb your licentiouſneſs, we will take your Parliament, which was the hotbed of treaſon againſt our mild and merciful King, from you; whatever there was virtuous among you we will take from you, and you ſhall become a country of labourers and manufacturers; you ſhall give corn to our cattle, and cattle to our navy." If this be the language you hold out to us, I do not know in what tongue to reply to it, but I would ſay, that the ſpirited Parliament, which was, during the little ſcene of confuſion, protected by a Spirited Yeomanry, deſerved a better treatment; I would ſay that the Gentlemen of the Iriſh Bar, who embodied themſelves in arms by permiſſion of Lord Camden, and the government of this country, to protect Lord Camden and his government from foreign and domeſtic enemies, to protect his caſtle and his perſon from being ſeized upon, have now received a miſerable boon for their ſervices.

In

In no inſtance was the maxim of "example is more forcible than precept" exemplified than in the numerous bodies of men who followed the Lawyers corps in their ſpirited endeavours to cruſh rebellion and treaſon in whatſoever ſhape they might make their appearance; and after this rebellion is put down, after the enemy is led captive to his priſon, or to the place of execution, after we have gained a complete victory both by land and by ſea, after we have ſheathed our ſword and unfixed our bayonet, is that the period for an Engliſh gentleman to draw his pen acroſs the independence of Ireland, and make her a blank in the map of Europe.

I will paſs over all the other paſſages in his Pamphlet, they have been ably anſwered by ſome of my brethren in the profeſſion, particularly Meſſrs. Ball and Jebb; the one has ſhewed him the high honor and ſpirit of an Iriſhman; the other the cool and diſcriminating diſcernment of commercial inquiry. The one has taken him to pieces; the other lifts him up to public

public view, and expoſes all his broken parts. And here I moſt candidly aſſure my Countrymen, that were it not a regard I had to my own promiſe, which I am now ſorry for, and which I am willing to admit was made at a time to put a ſtop to good-natured ſolicitation, I ſhould not have felt it neceſſary to trouble them or myſelf upon a ſubject that I fear they have read too much of.

I cannot diſmiſs theſe few lines without beſtowing ſome obſervations on another Gentleman, who appears an advocate for the unhappy meaſure, and who tells you that it would be highly pleaſing to many, to erect an independent government on every ten ſquare miles of Europe; and this he ſays as ſeriouſly as if he believed one word of the matter.——"We might rehearſe," ſays he, "the advantages which the Inhabitants were to derive from ſuch *organization*." I am concerned that ſuch an expreſſion eſcaped him—it has a republican ſound; but I do moſt confidently deny that any body of men in this country,

try, that had respectability attached to them, ever entertained a wish to have an independent government every ten miles near them, or in their vicinage, as long as they conceived they were inhabitants of an independent Island, possessing a FREE CONSTITUTION, and an UNSHACKLED COMMERCE.—I am free to acknowledge that if it were the case, we would be incapable of *vigorous enterprize*, or *effectual combination for resistance*; we would then fall beneath the sword of a powerful adversary.—If the inhabitants of Killala, Castlebar, &c. were little independent States, they would have fallen beneath General Humbert and his followers; but being connected with us, we gave them our aid, and made prisoners of the invaders.

"Ireland will derive importance, when by the share in the general representation which she is intitled to obtain, she will be enabled to influence, *in some respect*, the Councils *of the Empire*."—I do believe that her influence would be but in *some respect*; but with great respect to Mr. Mc. Kenna, (for he is an avowed author) I totally

totally differ from him in *every respect*.—At present we have an House of Lords and an House of Commons, the members of both amount in number to about five hundred. The Gentleman who is prolocutor of the Lords is an Irishman. The speaker of the Commons is also an Irishman. If a member of either House is affected by a particular or a general grievance, he submits his ideas and the whole subject undergoes discussion, which terminates in his redress, either for himself or his constituent. If the constituent is affected by a particular law, he can immediately wait on his representative, who will be bound by his duty to have that law repealed. If the representative sees any mode by which liberty and property can be better secured to the Irish nation, he is bound to propose it, and that in a place where he can be heard by the president or speaker, with attention and respect; but for my part I cannot foresee what attention my lord Loughborough* or Mr. Addington† will pay to Irish ora-

C tory

* Lord Chancellor. † Speaker.

tory, or what influence an Iriſh member would have in the councils of the empire upon any topic that interfered with the dignity and the aggrandizement of a Britiſh Parliament. An Iriſh gentleman, who was the honor and the idol of the Iriſh Parliament, I mean Mr. Henry Flood, concluded a very able and eloquent ſpeech, amidſt the yawns and coughs of an Engliſh ſenate.

I am well aware of the rooted prejudices, I had almoſt ſaid hatred, that lodges in the breaſt of ſome Engliſhmen towards Iriſhmen; of the inſolent and the impudent authority they aſſume, in all matters that relate to ſtate policy, and to court intrigue. Doctor Swift might well obſerve, that the man who was of figure and conſequence in this country, a voyage to the HEAD and a *journey to St. James!* ſoon reduced him to abſolute inſignificance.— The mention of ſuch a man as Swift, ſtarts a train of melancholy ideas in my mind, as are not eaſily to be repreſſed; would to

God

God we had ſuch a man to write upon ſuch a ſubject!

But to return, I know of no power or influence that we can have over the councils of the Empire, ſuperior to that which we have through the medium of our own Parliament, until Mr. Mc. K. ſhews me, by mathematical calculation, that one is more than five—he never can perſuade me that a few delegated Peers, from the lords of Ireland, and a few returned Commoners to the Parliament of Great Britain, can ever have, in *ſome reſpect*, or any reſpect, influence on the councils of the Empire. "But people," ſays Mr. Mc. K. "talks of the national debt of Britain," and then he like a *lawyer* contends "that though we are not legally, we are at this hour effectively pledged to ſupport with our reſources the credit of Great Britain." And pray Mr. Mc. K. who has denied but that we ſhould ſupport Great Britain in her credit; who will deny but we have proportioned to our means, ſupported her in all emergencies: But give me leave to

aſk

aſk Mr. Mc. K. if the meaſure is to be carried which he ſo *chearfully embraces*, namely that of *Legiſlative Union*, how will Ireland then be able to contribute to the payment of the national debt. SADDLED as *ſhe will be with that debt, and ſtript at the ſame time of her* PROPERTY!

It has been mentioned by ſome of my coadjutors, that the Delegates, Peers and Commons, will reſide near the miniſter; that they will receive from this country 500,000l. per Annum. that they will ſeldom viſit their demeſnes and their manſions; that their agents here will, in the abſence of their maſter, domineer over the unfortunate tenant, and drive him to diſtreſs, to misfortune, to deſpair and to madneſs; all this I believe will happen. But I will go further and aſſert, that there is not a gentleman of 500l. per ann. will live in this country; there is not a gentleman who has 500l. per ann. who is not intimately connected with the leading men of this country, and conſequently

ly would feel it his intereſt and advantage to follow the fortunes of thoſe men whenever it was their will and pleaſure to abandon us. "Perhaps," ſays Mr. Mc. K. "inquiſitive reſearch is at this very moment employed in exploring, or in opening the markets, by the ſupply of which this momentous operation is to be effected." I cannot ſuppoſe it poſſible that any mercantile ſpeculator would be ſo loſt to his own intereſt as to produce any article of manufacture for ſale at a market, unleſs that he was ſure of a bidder; much leſs can I be brought to ſuppoſe, that any man is employed in opening a market, on the preſumed ruin of his country. I have not a doubt but if Mr. Mc. K's. meaſure is accompliſhed, without a ſtruggle made by the pen of Iriſh genius to ſhew its injuſtice and its impolicy to thoſe who would propoſe it, that Waterford and a few other towns in Ireland might receive ſome commercial advantage. Whilſt I am candid in thus treating the ſubject, I ſhould have been glad Mr. Mc. K. had

pointed

pointed out what diſadvantages thoſe towns have laboured under, where they were inferior to Dublin in point of credit or in reſpect to manufactures, here with all his claſſical ingenuity, I do believe he would have failed.—There is one ſhort queſtion I would aſk Mr. M'K. are we not in poſſeſſion of all the commercial advantages that England could grant us by an Union? If I am anſwered in the affirmative, why ſhould we ſend 500,000l. per ann. to England? why ſhould we ſend the wealth and the conſequence out of this country? why ſhould that noble building in College-green be turned into a coach-houſe and ſtable for ſome military general and his officers? why ſhould the proprietors of the reſpectable ſquares in the city of Dublin be literally robbed of the induſtry of themſelves, of their families, and their anceſtry? until thoſe queſtions are anſwered to my entire ſatisfaction, I muſt pronounce that man an ideot who thinks he can propoſe ſuch a meaſure with ſafety.

Mr.

Mr. M'K. has in the remaining part of his pamphlet introduced himſelf ſo ſtrongly to a ſeat in the Britiſh legiſlature, that I do not feel it neceſſary to ſpeak for a reply to all that he has advanced upon the ſide of catholic claims; for it cannot be ſuppoſed poſſible that he would talk of catholic emancipation, and in the ſame breath the extinction of Parliament in this country.—The Iriſh catholic cannot ſuffer himſelf to be duped by ſuch pretended advocacy.

A party in this country calling themſelves Orangemen have been dealt with ſeverely by M. M'K. I am not of that party, but whatever I have learned of their principles I am led to think that they are a ſpirited and well-diſpoſed ſet of men, who aſſociated for the purpoſe of counteracting the deſigns of a *party* who intended the overthrow of our "*King, Lords and Commons.*" I care not whether the party who protects my caſtle from attack, and my property from plunder, get drunk with power or with wine: I care not whether they drink the health of KING WILLIAM

or

or my UNCLE TOBY; they have anſwered a wiſe and beneficial purpoſe, and for that reaſon they deſerve my gratitude and my thanks. Mr. M'K. ſhould be delicate or ſilent when he ſpeaks of a party; he ſhould recollect the Pamphlet he wrote ſome few years back, where he ſays he is not ſo ſqueamiſh or ſo faſtidious as not to own himſelf of a party, he avows himſelf the literary champion of the Whig Club and the panegyriſt of their leaders, and their widely extended principles; this is the party that Mr. M'K. ſhould have employed his pen to expoſe their wickedneſs and their folly, as he was beſt acquainted with both. I am not inſinuating any thing like blame to Mr. M'K. for *deſerting* that party, he might have entered into it with the beſt views, that of giving a political oppoſition to an able, or as he was pleaſed to ſay, *at that time*, a profligate miniſter; but I blame him for throwing any thing like cenſure upon a loyal body of men, who united themſelves for the purpoſe of cruſhing treaſon and rebellion.

On

On this very queſtion of an Union, ſays Mr. M'K. there muſt be ten thouſand different opinions; and then he ſays, it would be unwiſe to reconcile them.—I am ſorry he thinks ſo; if I am ſure he thought it wiſe or prudent to make converts of them, he would have attempted it. But I ſtrongly ſuſpect that upon the ſubject of an Union in this country there are but two opinions.—It is Waterford verſus Dublin, Cork againſt ſame, Belfaſt againſt ſame. It is the *Builder* and the *Dairyman* that are at iſſue. It is Merrion-ſquare and the Bog of Allen that are in controverſy. It is the penſioned ſlave and the proud freeman that are in combat. And is Mr. M'K. to pay no attention to the opinion formed and the reſolutions entered into by that high and reſpectable body of men the Iriſh bar; is he to pay no attention to the names of a Saurin, a Spencer, a Barrington, a Duquery, a Buſhe, a Powel, and a Plunket; men who ſpurned the paltry honors that were offered to them, when they were told that they were the purchaſe

of the rights and the liberties of their country; men who feel that they have but a life eſtate in thoſe immunities, which were left them by their fathers, and which in honor and in conſcience they are bound piouſly to tranſmit unimpaired to their children.

With Mr. M'K. I have done, he is a gentleman whom I knew early in private life, and for whom I entertained ſentiments of regard and reſpect. It is his political creed that I diſapprove of, and condemn. It is his forgetfulneſs of the benefits he received from an Iriſh Parliament, who removed the diſability he labored under in his civil and political capacity. It is of that kind of forgetfulneſs I would complain. It is the obliviſence of his country, of her rights, of her liberties, of her independence, of *himſelf*; it is that want of memory that makes a man appear at once odious and ungrateful. To his reflections I commit him.

I fear that I have not kept up to my promiſe as I have gone on. I felt it was impoſſible.

poſſible. God help us, we promiſe more, much more than we are able to perform; to be cool on ſuch a ſubject I believe will be the lot only of thoſe men who wiſh plauſibly to diſpoſe of my country, thoſe who write for that country and wiſh to preſerve her name among the nations of the earth, write from their feelings, and from their hearts.

I find my countrymen that I have been anticipated in many of the obſervations that it was originally my intention to have made on this great queſtion of an Union, twenty gentlemen have entered the liſts, they have from facts ſtubborn, and arguments invincible, demonſtrated the cruelty, the impolicy, and the danger of agitating this queſtion in the enſuing Parliament; they have demonſtrated the folly and abſurdity in the court champions ſuppoſing for a moment they could cajole Iriſhmen into a compariſon with the Scotch nation, who after it had puſilanimouſly conſented to the ſurrender and to the ſale of their Parliament upon treaty, that treaty ſcandalouſly and

ſhamefully

ſhamefully violated in the IMPOSITION OF A TAX which *their Peerage and their Commoners unanimouſly reſiſted*, but reſiſted in vain ! ! ! and therefore as I have been ſaved much trouble you are relieved.

I ſhall conclude with adjuring the Britiſh miniſter to pauſe before he will entirely conſent to or rather dictate a meaſure fraught with ſuch deſtruction to a country that has ſo uniformly ſupported him in all his financiering adjuſtments. I do adjure and beſeech the great men who have been and are now in England receiving inſtructions, how they are to act upon this great, this perilous occaſion, to ponder with a caution becoming the importance and the ſagacity of their characters, and proportioned to to the magnitude of the work before them, how they will pledge themſelves to the ſupport of a ſyſtem that muſt degrade them and their poſterity for ever, that they will ſee the ſatisfying of a few individuals in the paltry gratification of title is no compenſation to the unborn ſons of thoſe

individuals

individuals who if the title will deſcend (which, conſidering the manner it is conferred, and the tenure by which it will be held, I have my doubts) IT WILL BE WORN NOT AS THE INSIGNIA OF HEREDITARY HONOR, BUT THE BADGE OF INTAILED SLAVERY.

In this appeal to their better and their nobler feelings, I am not actuated by any ſelfiſh motives. For my King and my Country, my pen, like my ſword, has been ſolicitous and ready in defence of both. MY REWARD HAS BEEN MY OWN. My labours for the laſt four years in the way of my profeſſion, have been directed for the public good. Sometimes, and too often, have I ventured myſelf for an unhappy fellow creature, who was teazed and oppreſſed by a cruel and rapacious creditor; ſometimes with ſucceſs, but oftener ſucceeded in making myſelf a number of enemies, and enemies of thoſe who were formerly my friends:—However, upon a ſubject like the preſent, I truſt that they will forget, or rather permit their animoſities

animoſities to give way to more generous conſiderations, and that they will unite with me and their able brethren in the profeſſion, to advize the leading members of both countries not to attempt a meaſure, the accompliſhing of which muſt fix an indelible ſtain on the liberties, the laws and the conſtitution of this realm.

I ſhall take my leave, nearly in the words of Sir Wm. Blackſtone. 'THE PROTECTION OF THE LIBERTY OF IRELAND IS A DUTY WHICH WE OWE TO OURSELVES WHO ENJOY IT, TO OUR ANCESTORS WHO TRANSMITTED IT DOWN, AND TO OUR POSTERITY WHO WILL CLAIM IT AT OUR HANDS; THIS, THE BEST BIRTHRIGHT AND NOBLEST INHERITANCE OF MANKIND!

ISAAC BURKE BETHEL,

ARRAN QUAY.

A

REPORT

OF THE

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF

IRELAND,

ON *TUESDAY* AND *WEDNESDAY* THE 22ND AND 23D OF *JANUARY*, 1799,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AN UNION.

DUBLIN:

PRINTED FOR JAMES MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

THE

PARLIAMENTARY REGISTER.

TUESDAY, JANUARY 22, 1799.

THE Speaker and Members having returned after attending his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, in the Houſe of Peers, a copy of the Speech was read from the Chair as follows:

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" I have received his Majeſty's commands to meet you in Parliament.

" I congratulate you on the happy effects which have followed the unparallelled atchievement of the detachment of his Majeſty's fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord Nelſon —on the total defeat of the French ſquadron off the coaſts of this kingdom, by that under the command of Sir J. B. Warren— and on the brilliant and important conqueſt of Minorca. Thoſe events, while they afford to us in common with every other deſcription of his Majeſty's ſubjects, matter of juſt pride and ſatisfaction, muſt at the ſame time give confidence to other powers, and ſhew to all Europe the beneficial effects of a ſyſtem of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perſeverance againſt the deſtructive projects of the common enemy.

" I feel much concern in being obliged to acquaint you that a ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill prevails in ſeveral parts of this kingdom, and that the ſecret agents of the enemy are active in raiſing an expectation of freſh aſſiſtance from France.

" In this ſituation and under the evident neceſſity of continuing the war with vigour, his Majeſty firmly relies upon that ſpirit and magnanimity which have hitherto marked all your exertions

in ſupport of the honour of his Crown, of the intereſt of this kingdom, and of the general cauſe of the Empire.

" *Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,*

" I have ordered the public accounts and eſtimates to be laid before you—and as I am confident your wiſdom will raiſe the ſupplies which may be neceſſary in the manner leaſt burthenſome to the ſubject, ſo you may depend upon my attention to their prudent and economical application.

" It is with great ſatisfaction I obſerve, that notwithſtanding our internal calamities, this kingdom blended as its intereſts are in the general proſperity of the Empire, has participated in the effects of the encreaſing wealth and commerce of Great Britain, and that our revenues and trade have encreaſed.

" *My Lords and Gentlemen,*

" It is my duty to recommend to your attention the various objects of internal regulation which have ſo long enjoyed the benefit of your protection and ſupport. Your agriculture, your manufactures, and particularly the linen manufacture, the Proteſtant charter ſchools, and other charitable inſtitutions will require, and will, I am ſure, continue to receive that aid and encouragement which they have uniformly experienced from the liberality of Parliament. I am confident you will feel particular anxiety to give further attention to the juſt and honourable claims of thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty during the rebellion.

" His Majeſty depends upon your perſevering energy to repreſs, by every wiſe effort, the ſpirit of diſaffection, which ſtill requires the exerciſe of extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects. In recurring, where occaſion has required it, to acts of indiſpenſable ſeverity, I have not been inattentive to the ſuggeſtions of Mercy, and have endeavoured to mitigate the effects of penal juſtice, and the neceſſary exertions of the powers of the State, with as much forbearance and lenity as could be conſiſtent with the public ſafety.

" In the general cauſe which engages the Empire, our proſpect is highly encouraging, but in proportion as a ſucceſsful termination of the war becomes probable, our efforts ſhould be redoubled in order to ſecure it.

" The zeal of his Majeſty's Regular and Militia Forces, the gallantry of the Yeomanry, the honourable co-operation of the Britiſh Fencibles and Militia, and the activity, ſkill and valour of his Majeſty's Fleets, will, I doubt not, defeat every future effort of the enemy. But the more I have reflected on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, conſidering on the one hand the ſtrength and ſtability of Great Britain, and on the other thoſe diviſions which have ſhaken Ireland to its foundation, the

more anxious I am for ſome permanent adjuſtment which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our ſiſter kingdom to every part of this iſland.

" The unremitting induſtry with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a Separation of this kingdom from Great Britain, muſt have engaged your particular attention; and his Majeſty commands me to expreſs his anxious hope that this conſideration, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the Parliaments in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion, eſſential to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating, as far as poſſible, into one firm and laſting fabrick, the ſtrength, the power, and the reſources of the Britiſh Empire."

New Writs were ordered to iſſue for Ardee, Mullingar, and Callan, in the room of Mr. Ruxton, Colonel Doyle, and Charles Kendal Buſhe, Eſqrs. who have vacated their ſeats.

Mr. G. PONSONBY roſe, and ſtated that perſons, aliens and ſtrangers to the Legiſlature, were, according to his information, at that moment uſurping ſeats in that Houſe: and he held it to be the duty of the Houſe to make ſolemn enquiry into the fact.—The Noble Lord who held an high official ſituation as oſtenſible Miniſter, and had formerly repreſented the County of Down in Parliament, fell in his opinion under this deſcription. In order to enable the Houſe to form a judgment on the fact, he deſired that the two *Place Acts* and a report of laſt Seſſion ſhould be read.

[The Acts of the 33d and 38th of the King were then read.]

By the firſt of theſe Acts it is provided " that every Member of the Houſe of Commons accepting from the Crown a place of profit during pleaſure, ſhall vacate his ſeat."

By the ſecond, it is enacted " that Members accepting places of profit from the Lord Lieutenant or other Chief Governor ſhall vacate their ſeats."

The Report of the Committee of the laſt Seſſion, as to the queſtion whether Lord Caſtlereagh had vacated his ſeat by accepting the Office of Chief Secretary to the Lord Lieutenant was alſo read. It ſtated " that the office was one of conſiderable profit, and conferred by the verbal nomination of the Lord Lieutenant.—It farther ſtated, " that the Office, when given to any Engliſh Member, had never been conſidered as a vacation of his ſeat, and that no information on the ſubject was to be found in the Iriſh Journals."

[On this Report, it was declared by a Reſolution of the Houſe, that Lord Caſtlereagh, having accepted the place of Chief Secretary to Lord Camden, had not vacated.—This was before the

paſſing of the ſecond Place Bill Act, which was brought in to remedy this omiſſion.]

Mr. G. Ponsonby then ſtated to the Houſe, that Lord Caſtlereagh was now Secretary to Lord Cornwallis, who did not arrive in this country until the 20th of June; that the laſt Place Act had been paſſed the 4th of that month, and clearly operated on the re-acceptance of the ſituation under Lord Cornwallis, which he (Mr. Ponſonby) contended muſt have taken place, as the tenure of the Office expired with the departure of Lord Camden.—He therefore moved, "That Robert Viſcount Caſtlereagh, having accepted the Office of Chief Secretary to his Excellency Lord Cornwallis, his ſeat in that Houſe was therefore vacated."

He was ſeconded by Mr. Barrington.

Mr. O'Donnel ſupported the motion.

The Attorney General argued, that Lord Caſtlereagh had not at any time ſince his acceptance of the Office of Chief Secretary reſigned that ſituation, or been appointed anew; the Lord Lieuteuant was indeed changed, but as the ſucceſſor had not made any change in the ſecondary offices, the perſons holding them ſtill continued in poſſeſſion, and would ſo continue until he ſhould determine to diſmiſs them; it was impoſſible therefore that Lord Caſtlereagh could come within the operation of an Act made ſubſequent to his acceptance of the Office, and after a ſolemn reſolution of the Legiſlature paſſed confirming him in his ſeat under the terms of the firſt law on the ſubject.

Several members ſpoke on each ſide of this queſtiou, which occupied the Houſe ſome hours. At length Mr. Ponſonby, rather than delay any longer the main buſineſs of the night, withdrew his motion, on leave obtained.

Lord Tyrone.—I riſe to move an Addreſs of Thanks to his Majeſty for the moſt gracious ſpeech we have this day heard delivered from the throne. I confeſs, Sir, there never was a period in the annals of this or any other country, where firmneſs, deliberation and dignity were more requiſite than upon the preſent awful occaſion.—Parliament muſt not be intimidated by menaces, or deterred by clamour, although it ought to liſten with attention and deference to the wiſhes of the people whoſe legitimate organ it is. The Addreſs which I ſhall have the honour to propoſe, will, I hope, meet your approbation and paſs unanimouſly. It does not pledge the Houſe in its deciſion upon that great and important queſtion which now ſo much occupies and intereſts the public mind. As to the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, I at preſent can give no opinion, it would be to prejudge and anticipate that which is of ſo much

weight, nor can I fairly decide upon it until it ſhall come regularly in detail and diſcuſſion before the Houſe; but to reſiſt the full and free conſideration of a queſtion which comes recommended to your attention by our gracious and auguſt Sovereign, and upon which the ſentiments of commercial parts of the kingdom are ſo divided, would be diſreſpectful, impolitic and raſh. I truſt this Houſe and the Nation at large are unanimous in an abhorrence and deteſtation of any connexion with France; I truſt this Houſe and the Nation at large are agreed to ſtand or fall with Great Britain—ſhe in the hour of our diſtreſs generouſly aſſiſted us; and let it never be forgotten, that when an unprovoked and formidable Rebellion raged in this country, her Army, her Militia, the conſtitutional guardians of the Engliſh Nation, volunteered its ſervices in the defence of Ireland, and that her Fleet, under the command of the brave and gallant Warren, reſcued this country from the inſult of invaſion, by a deciſive victory over that implacable and perſevering enemy, who only looks to our deſtruction, in our ſeparation from Great Britain. I again repeat I do not conſider myſelf as pledged to the ſupport of the meaſure of an Union by moving the Addreſs; let that queſtion of policy ſtand upon its own merits; let it be adopted or rejected as the intereſts of Ireland and the proſperity of the Empire ſhall dictate. If upon inveſtigation it be found conducive to the advantage and ſtrengthening of both, no clamour, no violence, ſhall ſwerve me from the honourable line of my duty. I beg leave to ſay, I mean to move to-night a Call of the Houſe previouſly to entering into the conſideration of a ſubject of ſuch magnitude, that there may be due time for deliberation, that no Member may be taken by ſurpriſe, and that the deciſion of each may be the reſult of conviction.

Col. FITZGERALD.—Member for co. Cork, ſeconded the addreſs, expreſſing a zealous deſire that any ſtep likely to cement and ſtrengthen the connexion, between the two countries ſhould be adopted.

Sir J. PARNELL.—As the ſpeech does not avow the meaſure of Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, nor recommend it directly to the conſideration of the Houſe, it would be unneceſſary in this ſtage of the buſineſs to diſcuſs that queſtion, but the meaſure having been publicly avowed and introduced by a ſide-wind into the ſpeech, I ſhall oppoſe it in limine as being a queſtion ſimple in its nature and on which no further information is neceſſary, than to ſhew that we are called on to put an end to the exiſtence of an Iriſh Parliament.

By this meaſure we are to determine on the permanent and eſſential intereſts of this country for ever.

It is material to conſider whether theſe intereſts are, as I ſtate them to be, permanent and eſſential; if they are ſo, no temporary

inconvenience under which the ſtate labours, much leſs ſhould any momentary perſonal conſideration be put in competition with our moſt valuable and deareſt rights.

How are theſe intereſts affected, and on what are we called on to decide? On our conſtitution, our trade, our property, and on what is of ſtill more conſequence, the feelings of the public connected with a ſurrender of the Conſtitution; an affrighted commerce, and a diminiſhed property. This will lay a ground for growing diſcontent, not promoted by declamation or irritation, not to be treated as the momentary convulſion of popular feelings, but proved by facts and which if aggravated by experience muſt acquire force the longer it is ſuppreſſed, and produce conſequences greater than I wiſh to venture to ſtate.

Will any one deny that the Conſtitution is changed when the repreſentation of the people of Ireland, founded on the firſt forms of its Conſtitution, ratified by the deliberate conſideration of the Parliament of Great Britain, is altered not only by an eſſential diminution of the numbers of the repreſentative body, but by ſubjecting them to the control of a greater number of repreſentatives choſen in Great Britain, whoſe local intereſts differ from theirs, and who are engaged on objects of more general concern, they can neither know what we may ſuffer, nor if they did could they apply immediate remedies, nor inveſtigate the cauſes of inſurrections which require inſtant ſuppreſſion; or of diſaffection, to be counteracted in that caſe by thoſe who act on the ſuggeſtion of dilatory correſpondence and not from knowledge of the habits, the exertion, or the combination of the conſpiracy.

It is ſaid that a perſon in Yorkſhire might equally complain of the participation of repreſentation by the member for Middleſex. There is an extreme where every individual wiſhes to be immediately repreſented, that would lead to an impracticable exceſs of numbers, but there is a due practical medium, where every part of the ſtate may enjoy a repreſentation proportionate to its extent, its wealth and population.

If the argument was true it would apply equally to Great Britain and Ireland, in that caſe it would be expedient not to encreaſe the numbers of the Britiſh Commons, but rather to deduct one hundred members from the Britiſh Parliament; they according to the reaſoning to which I object, would be as well repreſented by one hundred members from Ireland, as by the repreſentation of counties in England, all being common ſubjects of the Empire. The confuſion of dialect, the claſhing of intereſts would not derange the political machine, whilſt a wiſe and able Miniſter controuls ſuch diſcordant principles; but if hereafter, the ſeparate intereſts ſhould be oppoſed to each other, the promiſed liberties of Ireland would vaniſh jointly with thoſe of the country to which it had ſent the means of the change of its conſtitution.

Theſe are momentous conſiderations this day, where the claims of the people to their ſhare of the government, have cauſed the convulſion of Europe. Will they now have an oppoſite effect? will the power of Parliament make the principles of diſcord the ſources of ſubmiſſion, of tranquillity and of affection, the only pretext of the meaſure is to tranquillize. The government are too wiſe not to know its firſt authority, *volentem per populum dare jura*, if they act contrary to that principle it is from having been miſinformed, that they have been ſo will be proved this night as to the opinion of this Houſe and hereafter as to the opinion of the people.

We ſuffer in relinquiſhing a conſtitution ratified by Great Britain.

The next conſideration is our trade—trade is of a delicate nature; if diverted from its channels, it may wander into other countries or ceaſe. The trade loſt to Dublin does not neceſſarily ſeek the ports of Waterford and Cork, it may find an aſylum in Liverpool, or probably find no home. The importing merchants of Dublin are the factors for the exports of our linens, they ſupply the trade with capital and diſcount, they extend it by their eſtabliſhed credits and by their extenſive foreign connexions. The diminution of the population which attends the local ſituation of political power, the conſtitutional baniſhment of its Lords and Commons to be renewed every eight years (who if prudent, will become Engliſh ſettlers, if diſſipated, bankrupts) will leſſen the imports of all the articles of Luxury, and the conſumption of all the manufacture of artizans and of the articles ſold by retail. The malady of the head will affect all the component parts of the ſyſtem.

The counties in the vicinity of the metropolis will experience a decline of price commenſurate with a decreaſed conſumption. As the price of land has doubled in 20 years it may return to its firſt value, is this a ſource of content and gratitude? I ſhall be gratified if I am a falſe prophet, I would wiſh that my judgment might be impeached if my country benefits, but I dare not venture to riſque experiment which if it is not ſucceſsful muſt be ruinous.

I have ſtated the moſt obvious diſadvantages; great as they ſeem, they muſt be ſubmitted to, if compenſated by proved and beneficial conſequences to the Empire.

The firſt, and obvious argument is that a meaſure which has been beneficial to Scotland will equally benefit Ireland.—Ireland does not ſtand in the ſame relative poſition this day, as England did in reſpect to that country at the time of the Union. The meaſure was then juſtified by neceſſity. This was ſo well underſtood, that according to the teſtimony of the writer of the beſt authority Defoe, it was not unpopular in Scotland when firſt pro-

poſed, it became ſo by publications calculated to inflame the minds of the people. Scotland had by an Act of its Parliament, diveſted the family of the ſucceſſion of the Crown on whom it had been entailed by the Parliament of Great Britain.

The Engliſh Parliament had in return declared the people of that country aliens and had interdicted their trade, there was no choice but ſubmiſſion or Union. The meaſure did not equally affect the public feeling as it now does. The ſucceſſion to the Crown and not the ſhare of the power claimed by the people intereſted the public mind. Is the example of Scotland, brought to prove that the Union was an inſtant remedy to quell rebellion and diſcountenance invaſion? When the French attempted a landing at an interval of time, when paſſions might have ſubſided, the writer whom I have quoted aſſerts that if the landing had ſucceeded, the Engliſh army would not have been ſufficient to have controuled the ſpirit of inſurrection in that country. But though a ſimilar neceſſity does not exiſt in Ireland as did at that time in Scotland, it is aſſerted that there exiſts a neceſſity equally cogent at this day, to make the adoption of the meaſure unavoidable in this country, viz. the conteſt between Catholic and Proteſtant, and foreign invaſion. Can an act of Parliament modifying the conſtitution, alter the minds of thoſe who propoſe to overturn it? can it ſtop the progreſs of invading fleets, or the raſh enterprize of a deſperate army? Has rebellion, or invaſion, or diſputed claims ever been made a fair argument for altering the Britiſh Conſtitution? would any one in extreme illneſs take a remedy before it was proved it agreed with his conſtitution? I never heard it attempted to be proved that thoſe who wiſh to throw off Britiſh Connexion, would adopt a ſyſtem to place them under its unlimited controul. I caution the Houſe that we ſhall not hazard all that is dear to us for ever, until the neceſſity of the meaſure and its beneficial conſequences are attempted to be proved. Will the Catholic and Proteſtant mind be ſatisfied by each party ceaſing to have a Parliament within the reach of its approbation? We had better know our intereſt by relinquiſhing jealouſies whereby we have been ſufferers in the extreme, and avoid by the continuance of them injuring the intereſts of our country.—But the great object which muſt ſuperſede every other conſideration, is connecting the intereſts and adding to the ſtrength of the empire. If I knew how to obtain thoſe objects, it is my firſt conſideration, but I would not in ſeeking them riſk an innovation, which if carried too far muſt be its deſtruction, I will yield in loyalty to no one, I know that the intereſts of England and Ireland depend on the cloſeſt and moſt intimate connexion. But inſtead of binding our affection by law, or providing for our ſtrength, by depriving us of the guardians of our own intereſts, I would adopt the means of ſupporting Great Britain, which were obvious and practica-

ble and not ſpeculative and liable to ſuſpicion. In order to underſtand how the ſtrength of Great Britain may be effectually promoted, let us conſider what creates the ſtrength of a ſtate; 1ſt, the affection of the people, 2d, the increaſe of military ſtrength connected with the increaſe of wealth the means of ſupplying it. Are the people in the metropolis and the people in the country ſo enraptured with this meaſure, that they are ready to ſhed tears of gratitude for its being offered to them?

If we are ſtated to be too rich and too powerful to be governed, and when to remedy the inconvenience, we ſhall be reduced to a ſtate of leſs power, and ſhall enjoy leſs wealth, ſhall our ability to add to the military ſtrength of Great Britain be increaſed? If money ſhould be the criterion of ſtrength, and neceſſary to be contributed to aſſiſt Great Britain, it could be obtained in a greater proportion from a people confiding in an independent Iriſh Parliament, than when raiſed by another Legiſlature.—I never propoſed any taxes (it has been my misfortune to be obliged to propoſe extenſive ones) that met with a negative in this aſſembly, the unanimity of Parliament ſecured the acquieſcence of the people.

I have ſtated the advantages and the diſadvantages connected with the propoſed meaſure, the propoſed advantages are likely to produce the oppoſite effects to thoſe which they affect to have in view; inſtead of leſſening, they add to the exiſting diſcontents—they do not convince me of the neceſſity of ſurrendering a Parliament under whoſe ſuperintendance trade, revenue, and property are acknowledged to have regularly encreaſed in a moſt rapid progreſs—a Parliament who have uniformly ſupported the Britiſh connexion—who have adopted uniformly its treaties, enacted ſimilar navigation laws, and confirmed its excluſive charters, and proved in every inſtance, that there exiſted a ſyſtem compatible with the exiſtence of an Independent Iriſh and Britiſh Legiſlature exerciſing a beneficial ſuperintendance on the local intereſt of each country, but connected in a common intereſt to perpetuate the Britiſh Empire, and enjoying in common the ineſtimable advantages of being under a common parent and ſovereign: The Parliament of this Country poſſeſſing ſimilar privileges with thoſe of the Britiſh Conſtitution, confirmed to them by the juſtice of the Engliſh Legiſlature, has proved itſelf competent to detect and ſuppreſs a moſt dangerous and extenſive rebellion.

But it is alledged, that this Parliament is liable to influence, and not fit to be entruſted by the crown or the people; what a ſilly charge! your conduct this night, at the ſame time that it defeats an injurious meaſure, will confute the reaſoning offered in ſupport of it; by proving your independance, you prove the falſehood of the calumny which impeaches it.

It would be unjuſt if demerit had attached to thoſe who compoſe the Parliament to deſtroy what ought to be a perpetual fabrick, becauſe individuals at any particular time had failed in their duty: I would riſk every thing of my own before I would deſtroy what does not belong to me, the rights of poſterity.

It is ſaid, it is not certain that the Iriſh Parliament will always act in concert with that of Great Britain in imperial queſtions —Is it certain, that the Engliſh Parliament will always vote the ſupplies neceſſary for its Government, in neither caſe is there any certainty, but there is a preſumption which approaches to certainty, that public bodies will always act in conformity to their intereſts, when thoſe intereſts are ſelf-evident; in ſhort, the evils complained of may be beſt remedied in the caſe of the religious diſtinctions, by recollecting that we have a common intereſt with them; the affections are to be acquired by good treatment, and all to be preſerved by the efforts of a ſteady and wiſe Government.—I have voted againſt Catholic claims, not from diſlike to any individual for his religion, but on a principle that it was unwiſe to change the exiſting Government; notwithſtanding I have lived happily among them, and I am ſatisfied that if their paſſions had not been worked on, the ſpirit of affection had prevailed from the juſtice and moderation of the Proteſtant reſident landlords, which would have proved, that the diſcontents founded on religious prejudice, ought to have ſubſided in Ireland as it has done in other countries.

The efforts of the enemy are better to be oppoſed by military force than by ſpeculation on our Conſtitution, by relying on thoſe whoſe loyalty you have experienced, than by riſquing the effects of alarming their feelings by innovating on the principles of the exiſting Conſtitution. It is better to meet the evils which we know, than riſque others the extent of which we cannot meaſure, viz. the entire ſurrender of the whole of our intereſts, for they are included in our conſtitutional privileges.

Sir, I muſt be anſwerable for my opinions hereafter, it is a conſolation to me, that I have acted under no influence but that of my judgment. If we are fortunate enough to preſerve the radical principles of our Conſtitution, and to eſcape the dangerous ſituation in which we ſtand, let us accompany our exertion with the moſt cordial expreſſion of affection, followed up by ſubſtantial aſſiſtance to the Engliſh nation; let us conciliate their affection by imitating their virtues; let us act as they would do if they were in our ſituation; let us adopt a ſimilarity of ſentiment with that which the barons uſed when it was propoſed to alter the law of England; and let us reply to the adviſers of the meaſure which is propoſed, *nolamus leges Hiberniæ mutari.*

Mr. TIGHE.—I cannot, Sir, help expreſſing the pleaſure with which I concur this day in ſentiment with the Right Hon. Gentleman who has juſt ſat down. And give me leave to ſay, that this queſtion will come before the public with a bad and ill-omened aſpect, when men, who by their arguments evince themſelves ſo truly converſant with the real intereſts of Ireland; men, who by their conduct have evinced themſelves ſo ſincerely the friends to its rights and independence, have now ſuddenly and for the firſt time loſt the confidence of government. I am happy that I have this early opportunity of ſhewing my ſentiment of the important queſtion which is likely to be brought forward; I will enter into no diſcuſſion of it, until it is brought directly before the Houſe; until I have heard by what arguments it can be ſupported; that, upon whatever ground the Miniſters may chooſe to place it, upon that ground they may be met and combated.—The noble Lord who moved the Addreſs has ſaid, that the Houſe by concurring with him will not be pledged to adopt a Legiſlative Union, it ſeems to me, that if they ſhall vote that Addreſs, they will ſtand pledged, as far as they can, to favour a Legiſlative Union. The Addreſs ſays, "we will conſider of the beſt means of conſolidating into one fabric, the power of the two kingdoms." What power are we to conſolidate? the executive? No, that is conſolidated for ever. If the words mean any thing then, they mean that we are favourable to the conſolidation of the Legiſlative powers by an incorporating Union; are we favourable to this idea? have we adopted it? do we not know, that as the leſſer quantity is loſt in the greater, the Legiſlative Faculty of Ireland would by an Union merge eternally in the Legiſlative power of Britain? before ſuch a queſtion comes to be debated, it is incumbent on the Miniſter previouſly to ſhew, by what crime the Iriſh Parliament have deſerved to forfeit their conſtitutional right; by what crime the Nation deſerve to forfeit independence. I ſee but two ways in which the Miniſter can alledge ſuch miſconduct to the Iriſh Parliament; either they have made ſo bad an uſe of their power by their general conduct, as to deſerve this act of attainder; or elſe they have not given a ſufficient or a zealous ſupport to the Empire, during the preſent unfortunate war. Adminiſtration, who have uſually ſuggeſted the meaſures adopted by Parliament, will ſcarcely impeach it for general miſconduct; and as to the ſupport which two Iriſh Parliaments have given to Britain during the preſent conteſt, that ſupport was not zealous only, but unanimous; we have repeatedly declared our determination to ſtand or fall with Great Britain; we have been liberal of our reſources; we have voted taxes and loans to the utmoſt of our power, and voted them unanimouſly. Great Britain owes gratitude to our exertions; ſhe owes reſpect to our independence; ſhe ought to know that that independence enabled us to make thoſe exertions.

But if Great Britain is incapable of gratitude or reſpect to this country, never may I be counted among thoſe, who ſhall be capable of throwing the liberties of Ireland, at the feet of a Britiſh Miniſter; a Miniſter, whoſe object is now to ſacrifice this country to new ſchemes of deſperate finance: he has taxed Great Britain to the uttermoſt; laſt year the expenditure; this year the income of every Britiſh individual is at his mercy; he can go no farther; next year therefore he wiſhes to find his reſources in Ireland; and becauſe he thinks the Iriſh Parliament are too ſparing of the money of the people, he wiſhes to deſtroy our Legiſlature, that this country may be hereafter for ever taxed, by a majority of Britiſh repreſentatives, who in taxing us, will not tax themſelves, but will be ready to violate, with regard to us every conſtitutional principle, according to the ſuggeſtions of a Britiſh Miniſter.

Lord CASTLEREAGH felt himſelf called upon to ſay, that although there was not in the addreſs any ſpecific pledge to a meaſure of *Union*, although it was clearly implied in the wiſh to ſtrengthen the reſources of the Empire, he had no difficulty in ſaying that he thought the only means of ſettling this unhappy country in permanent tranquillity and connexion with Britain incorporate, were to be found in a Legiſlative Union; and on this ſubject he did intend at an early day to ſubmit a ſpecific motion to the Houſe.

Mr. G. PONSONBY entered now on a very able and eloquent attack and expoſure of the general principle of an Union. He ſaid the open avowal of the noble Lord ſaved him the trouble of proving that the words of the Addreſs could mean nothing leſs than that the Houſe would entertain and diſcuſs the idea of annihilating the Iriſh Parliament and the Conſtitution of the country. He boldly avowed the principle, that neither the Legiſlature, nor any power on earth had a right or authority to do this —The Crown or the Peers evidently had no ſuch power, and the Repreſentatives of the People were appointed to make laws only —they were not veſted with permanent and unlimited authority, and therefore could not pronounce definitively on the rights of the people. The depoſition of James 2d, the bill of rights, which declared the depoſition or abdication of that Monarch was for violating the original compact with the people, proved this doctrine. Parliament might indeed go great lengths with the conſent of the people—but even with that, he would heſitate to ſay, whether they could deprive their poſterity for ever of their right to the benefits of the Conſtitution, to civil liberty. Having painted in glowing colours the infamy of ſurrendering liberty and independence for any conſideration, he proceeded to conſider how the meaſure would affect the wealth of the country. "You are to

grow rich ſaid he'—why?—Becauſe you are to have 100 Repreſentatives among 558 Britiſh, by whom you are to be governed—and theſe will conſtantly tend, not to encreaſe the trade and wealth of Britain, but to make *you* the wealthieſt kingdom in the world! There was a time when Great Britain had the management of your concerns; previous to 1779, for inſtance, what was your ſituation? What was the effect of their care then? Before the reign of James 1ſt, ſo far from being their peculiar favourites, you had not the common benefits of Engliſh law—you were aliens and out-laws. After the calamities you ſuffered under Charles I. and at the reſtoration, the property of the country fell principally into Engliſh hands—yet, even then, when you were of the fleſh and blood of Engliſhmen, your trade, which was, from a variety of circumſtances, naturally limited, was ſtill further reſtricted by the monopoly of Great Britain, and the import of your cattle, the only article of your export, was prohibited by the Britiſh Parliament, and though the King and Duke of Ormond both endeavoured to prevent that vote as ruinous, though Charles himſelf perſonally applied to the Peers to diſſuade them from it, they paſſed their favourite predicting meaſure of Iriſh Commerce. Mr. Ponſonby went on to ſhew the malevolence of Great Britain againſt Iriſh proſperity, by their application to King William to ſuppreſs the woollen manufacture, and by the ſubſequent reſtrictive meaſures with which they ſhackled Iriſh manufacture and commerce down to 1778, when by the virtuous and bold efforts of this country they extorted ſome commercial benefits which then were ſuppoſed to be of ſome importance, but which afterwards turned out to be ſuch as the country could not avail itſelf of, and even if it could, would not have added 500l. per annum to its wealth. Theſe continued oppreſſions and irritations made the gentlemen of Ireland at laſt declare, that Ireland muſt be righted; and to enforce the demand, they withheld the ſupplies, until juſtice was done. Was it wiſe or juſt, then, in a Parliament to ſurrender that power into the hands of a country which for ſeven centuries had kept this kingdom ſtarving, and deprived the country of all that advantage which God had given it? That the Legiſlature with all its defects, was equal to the government of the country, he proved by the fact ſtated in the Speech. That the proſperity of the country had greatly encreaſed, and that the country would not gain ſtrength by the diſfranchiſement of the Lgiſlature, he ſhewed by referring to its former ſituation when the Iriſh Parliament was ſubordinate to that of England.—To any meaſure which could tend to add legiſlative ſtrength to the Britiſh empire he would agree willingly—but to that meaſure which degraded this country, and by doing ſo weakened inſtead of adding ſtrength to the imperial force, ſo long as he remained a rational creature he would never give his concurrence. The Mi-

niſter had told them they ought to diſcuſs this meaſure with coolneſs; but when the Miniſter himſelf would not have men to the free exerciſe of their underſtanding, but turned out of office the beſt and oldeſt ſervants of the Crown, becauſe they would not proſtitute their conſcience; when the terrors of diſmiſſal were thus held out to deter men, holding office, from a fair exerciſe of their private judgment, how could he talk of cool diſcuſſion? He concluded by moving an amendment, which would give every gentleman who did not wiſh to pledge himſelf to a ſurrender of the rights of the country, an opportunity of ſpeaking his ſenſe. The amendment was, that after the paſſage which declares the willingneſs of the Houſe to enter on a conſideration of what meaſures may beſt tend to confirm the common ſtrength of the empire, ſhould be inſerted, "maintaining, however, the undoubted birth-right of the people of Ireland to have a reſident and independent Legiſlature, ſuch as it was recognized by the Britiſh Legiſlature in 1782, and was finally ſettled at the adjuſtment of all differences between the two countries."

Sir L. PARSONS ſeconded the amendment.

Rt. Hon. T. CONOLLY oppoſed it for the ſame reaſon which he urged againſt the Conſtitution of 1782, namely, that that Conſtitution could not work—two independent Legiſlatures in one empire being as abſurd and monſtrous as two heads on one pair of ſhoulders. He gave a ſhort hiſtory of the country from 1782 to the preſent time, and ſhewed, that many of the evils we have experienced ſince aroſe from the independence of the Legiſlature—and particularly the fact that there were 116 placemen and penſioners at one time in the Houſe of Commons ſince that period. What was ſuch independence worth?

Mr. FREDERICK FALKINER.—After the able ſpeech I have heard from my hon. and learned friend upon the floor (Mr. G. Ponſonby) it muſt appear as preſumption in me to intrude myſelf long upon the attention of this Houſe; but as on this important ſubject I think every Gentleman ought to deliver his ſentiments, I muſt entreat your attention for a few moments. I hope every gentleman who knows me will do me the juſtice to think I am ſincerely attached to my King and Conſtitution. But really I do not think his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's conduct ſince he has had the Adminiſtration of this Country deſerves my praiſe. To my Lord Camden we are indebted for our preſervation, in the glorious Yeomanry inſtitution. The horrid and unnatural rebellion was put down before that Nobleman left this Country; and had he remained here a little longer, it had been completely extinguiſhed, and the Yeomanry upheld in that degree their ſervices ſo highly merited. As to the attempt to invade this country by

a deſperate banditti from France, every one who hears me knows the length of time they were ſuffered to wander through this country; and I may aſſert it, if it was not for the unparalleled gallantry of one regiment who ſtopped their career, that the French banditti would have reached this capital, while his Excellency's immenſe army had never ſeen them.—Our utmoſt praiſe is due to the Engliſh Militia, who ſo nobly volunteered their ſervices when they did ſuppoſe we ſtood in need of their aſſiſtance; but ſuſpicion is created that the force you have received from England was to carry the Miniſter's deteſted meaſure—a Legiſlative Union; a meaſure at once ſacrificing into his hands our Independence, our Rights, and our Liberties I will call upon the noble Lord to declare whether the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union is not in contemplation to be brought forward, although not directly mentioned or ſet forth in the Speech; for until that ſubject is got rid of, the public mind cannot get quiet. In the County I have the honour to repreſent, the property between the landlord and tenant muſt ſtand in a very precarious ſituation; it will be the intereſt of the landlord to ſay there will be no Union, and the intereſt of the tenant to ſay there will be an Union. Therefore, deciſion muſt take place; it muſt be evident that, from 4l. to 5l. an acre hangs between thoſe two opinions. I hope the high feeling and honour of this Houſe, will from this night ſcout the meaſure (ſo degrading to the Nation) from its walls.

Lord CLEMENTS ſaid he ſhould ſupport the Hon. Member's Amendment, and would aſk leave to ſay a word or two on the ſubject. His Lordſhip hoped that this meaſure would be ſcouted by every honeſt man, and that the independent Members of that Houſe, by expreſſing their juſtly indignant ſentiments againſt it, would induce the miniſter to withdraw ſo miſchievous a project. In no ſituation, nor under any circumſtances could he think it proper to accede to ſuch a meaſure.—He ſhould oppoſe it equally as the friend of England as of Ireland; becauſe he thought it fatally inimical to the connexion and proſperity of both countries. He hoped too it would be ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by all the virtue of the Britiſh Senate, as a meaſure only calculated enormouſly to increaſe the power of the Crown, and influence of the Miniſter; and therefore ruinous to the true proſperity of the Empire.

Mr. FITZGERALD (late Prime Serjeant). The error committed by my Right Hon. Friend (alluding to the Attorney General calling him Prime Serjeant) was not at all neceſſary to con-

vince me that he was uninformed of my diſmiſſal from an office in which I had long acted with him, and to my conduct, in which he has borne ſuch ſtrong, ſuch honourable, and ſuch voluntary teſtimony—I know him to be ſuperior to ſuch impolicy—for, as he ſupports the meaſure, his good ſenſe would tell him that nothing could contribute to defeat its ſucceſs, or to awake the honeſt indignation of the independent gentlemen of Ireland ſo effectually as ſuch an open and avowed war againſt the freedom and liberties of Parliament, commenced by the removal of my Right Hon. Friend and myſelf from ſituations, which I am bold to ſay, we held with honor to ourſelves, and advantage to the public. But it was neceſſary to hold us out as examples to ſtop the growing mutiny and inſurrection of honor and conſcience againſt the influence of office—and though my Right Hon. Friend and I have ſuffered, it muſt be a conſolation to us to think that our ſuffering will produce an union of the honeſt pride of thoſe we have left in office, with the independence of the country gentlemen of Ireland, to reſcue their country from that ruin with which it is threatened; for I cannot conceive any man arrived at ſuch a pitch of political depravity, as to ſupport by his public vote, that which was the ſubject of his private execration. The ſituation of my Right Hon. Friend is filled—mine is kept in abeiance, and will not be diſpoſed of, before the determination of the queſtion. I perfectly agree with the Right Hon. Member who ſpoke laſt but one, (Mr. Connolly) the near and reſpected connection of the noble Lord)—that much independence is not to be expected from an Houſe of Commons, wherein he ſtated 116 place-men to be; and yet with that Houſe of Commons the Right Hon. Member ſeems inclined to vote away the freedom and independence of Ireland—that freedom and independence, for which he enrolled himſelf among the ſaviours of Ireland in 1782—and how does he propoſe to preſerve them? By an Union—a tranquillizing Union—an Union to be voted by 116 place-men, as ſtated by the Right Hon. Member. Connect the arguments of the Right Hon. Gentleman with the conduct of the government, with which he is ſo cloſely connected, and this inference muſt follow;—No man can hold a place under government who does not vote for this meaſure. The Britiſh miniſter is too wiſe and too magnanimous to wiſh for an Union on ſuch terms.

If the amendment which my Honourable and Learned Friend has propoſed, and ſupported with ſuch tranſcendent ability ſhall

not be carried, this, Sir, I fear is the laſt time which I ſhall have the honor to addreſs you in an Iriſh Parliament; for though the pageant and ceremony of its funeral may take up ſome time and give opportunities for lamentations, yet, if the amendment is negatived, the character of Parliament will be extinguiſhed—and character is a phœnix which dies but once; and from its aſhes there is no reſurrection. I had ſome doubt whether I ſhould avail myſelf of this melancholy opportunity, but upon reflection, conſidering that the queſtion involves every thing that can be ever dear to a nation, I have reſolved to treſpaſs upon the Houſe, and to briefly ſtate the principle of the vote which I ſhall give. Contrary to the influence of every private affection, and differing from thoſe with whom I have long acted, and to whom I would yield my own opinion on any meaſure of temporary effect, I adopt the amendment moved by my Honourable Friend, becauſe my mind is impreſſed with this conviction—that the extinction of the Legiſlature of Ireland would, ſooner or later, produce a convulſion in which the connection between Great Britain and Ireland would be at ſtake, and that it would render this country more than ever ſubject to the intrigues of France—and that in this devoted iſland, emaſculated of that vigour and energy with which it ever has, and I truſt it ever will, ſtand by Great Britain; the conteſt would take place—with this impreſſion upon my mind, could I, as an honeſt man, vote for ſuch a meaſure? and becauſe I could not I feel the heavy hand of power. If a deliberative aſſembly is called upon to adopt any extraordinary propoſition, the firſt enquiry ſhould be, whether it was within their power? The next, if it be, whether it ſhould be adopted? If the queſtion had never been made, I ſhould have declined the diſcuſſion of it; but as it has, I muſt declare that it is not, in my opinion, within the moral competence of Parliament, to deſtroy and extinguiſh itſelf, and with it the rights and liberties of thoſe who created it. I acknowledge the competence of Parliament to extend and improve its conſtitution; to regulate and prevent the progreſs of abuſes, neceſſarily ariſing in every inſtitution; I acknowledge the competence of the Engliſh Parliament to adopt the Union with Scotland; becauſe the number of Repreſentatives and Peerage only was increaſed; which, as the Crown by its prerogative may do, ſo may the act of the Legiſlature. But after that Union, the Conſtitution of England continued, but the Conſtitution of Scotland was diſperſed. And of this opinion muſt the great advocate of conſtitutional eſtabliſhments have been. (Here he ſtated the opinion of Mr. Burke

that the Houſe of Lords was not competent to diſſolve the Houſe of Commons; nor even to diſſolve itſelf; nor to abdicate, if it would, its proportion in the Legiſlature of the Kingdom; that though a King may abdicate for his own perſon, he cannot abdicate for the monarchy, and that by as ſtrong, or by a ſtronger reaſon, the Houſe of Commons cannot renounce its ſhare of authority. The conſtitution forbids ſuch invaſion or ſurrender. The conſtituent parts of a ſtate are obliged to hold their public faith with each other, and with all thoſe who deſire *any ſerious intereſt under their engagements*; ſuch a compact may, with reſpect to Great Britain, be an Union, but with reſpect to Ireland, it will be a Revolution, and a Revolution of a moſt alarming nature. And here give me leave to obſerve, that when an Union was propoſed to Scotland, it was propoſed in plain, ſimple language, and not as a piece of metaphorical architecture. The Scotch Parliament was elected with a notice to the people, that ſuch a meaſure would be ſubmitted to their diſcuſſion. How different the line adopted on the preſent occaſion! But if it is competent to the Parliaments of both countries to adopt this meaſure, will it not be equally competent to the imperial Parliament to reſcind. Where, then, is the ſecurity for any ſtipulation which may be made? While I am on this head, permit me to remind the Houſe of the opinion of a great Lawyer, (Sir R. Raymond) on the Septennial Act; That it was a ſubverſion of the Conſtitution. He was ſhortly after appointed Attorney General and Chief Juſtice of England. Let me tell my young brethren of the law, that the ſupport of the Conſtitution is the road to honor, and preferment, and though they ſhould fail of them in that road, they will be ſure to find the honor and reſpect of the profeſſion, whoſe opinion on this great ſubject, it was thought prudent to anticipate, and to endeavour to diſparage, by the groſſeſt libel. It was natural to ſuppoſe that the virtue and learning of that great body, would come forward to protect their country againſt political invaſion, as their gallantry and ſpirit prompted them to lead in arming to protect her againſt domeſtic and foreign enemies; and therefore the Bar of Ireland was to be traduced and vilified by anticipation. But if you had the power, I have no heſitation to ſay you would not barter the ineſtimable rights of a free nation, for the greateſt commercial advantages. You would cry with one voice, "Periſh commerce! but live the liberty and conſtitution of Ireland!" You could have no ſecurity for any ſuch advantages; you could hold it at the will only of a Parliament, in which your weight would be ridiculouſly inſignificant. What was the language of a Noble Lord in the Britiſh

Parliament, in the debate upon the attendance of the Scotch Judges, in the case of Capt. Porteus? The Scotch by consenting to be governed by one and the same Parliament, in which they knew we would always have the majority, did, in effect, submit every thing to our honor. And Harrington, in his Oceana, expressly states, that if Scotland, when united to England, sends fewer Representatives to Parliament than England, the former is enslaved to England. And he therefore preferred a federal, to an incorporating Union. What was the language of a great authority of our own country, upon a memorable occasion? Independence upon the Parliament of Great Britain, is our freedom—dependence upon her Crown is our security—separate Legislatures—unity of Executive. Our connection is secured by an Act of the Legislature. The King of England must be the King of Ireland for ever;—away, then, with the bugbear! The separation of the countries can never ensue from a legislative measure. The constitutional negative of the Crown affords ample security against the hostility of any legislative measures. Will the measure proposed, quiet the country, and remove the causes of the discontents? In my opinion, not. It will, on the contrary, encrease the agitation of the one, and aggravate the other. Will it tranquillize this great metropolis, which, so lately as the last Summer, by its valour and spirit, preserved this country to herself, and to Great Britain; while the Government of the country lay shuddering in the castle. Whom then will it gratify? not the Loyalists, but the United Irishmen. Nine in ten of the men execrate the measure; the women are unanimous against it; Would to God, that they would emulate the Athenian ladies, and subject the man who shall vote for it, to the ban of their displeasure. Will it give you any stronger claim on Great Britain? No—and I am satisfied that the honor of the British Nation would reject such an insinuation. Would Great Britain, that arms for the deliverance of Europe—that subsidized Prussia—Sardinia—the Emperor—and guarantees his loans—that makes Egypt an object of his care—will she refuse her protection and assistance to Ireland—unless purchased by the surrender of her liberties?—Ireland that has been so ready to pour out her best blood, and to contribute so far as she was able, to the support of the common cause. Those who argue in that way, defame the character of Great Britain. She knows the value of liberty too well, to suppose it can be either sold or purchased. The speech from the Throne calls our attention to the growing prosperity of the country, and its encreasing commerce; and if I could permit myself for a moment to adopt the ungenerous motives to which the aid

and assistance of Great Britain to this country, are imputed, I should think there was some foundation for Dr. Johnson's remark; talking to an Irishman on the subject of an Union, "Don't unite with us," says he, "we shall unite with you only to rob you; we would have robbed the Scotch, if they had any thing to be robbed of." But I think too highly of the British Nation, She has been deceived to think that the People of Ireland were tired of their Parliament—that their Parliament was unworthy—and that it would prove its unworthiness, by consenting to its own extinction. It is a great misfortune of the present day, that the opinions and motives of men are misrepresented. To prevent a possibility of misconceiving mine, with respect to our connection with Great Britain, I shall express it in a line and a half—

——Paribus se legibus ambæ,
Invictæ gentes eterna in fœdera mittant invictæ.

Unawed by terror, unconquered by force, and unseduced by corruption.——If any imperial arrangement remains to be made, I am ready and anxious to adopt it. If our connection in peace and war is not ascertained, (tho' I think it is) and that Ireland should have no friend or no enemy, that is not the friend or enemy of Great Britain, let it be ascertained; let even the ratio of our imperial contribution be fixed; let every adjustment be made, consistent with the preservation of the Irish Legislature; the extinction of which would endanger, and not secure, the liberties of Great Britain, and leave us poor indeed. These are the opinions which disqualify me for that situation which I have so long held. If an unalterable resolution to withhold my consent to any measure that may extinguish the legislature of Ireland disqualifies me, I am most eminently disqualified. It is a disqualification of which I am proud. I enjoy it in common with you—with the great body of the landed interest of Ireland which I see about me, and with the great body of the learned, enlightened, and uninfluenced profession to which I have the honor to belong.

Mr. FITZGERALD, Knight of Kerry, opposed the amendment, because the rebellion having shaken this country to its centre, made some arrangement necessary, because it was obvious the country could not have been saved, and was now preserved but by force, and that was a state in which things could not long remain, because principles had got among the people of the country which induce them to give their confidence to Parliament,

ment only so far as the Parliament tends to sever the connexion, and finally, because if this principle were not checked, it must ultimately end in separation. As to the objection to the competency of Parliament to effect an Union, it could have no force, unless it were said that the people have always a right to depose their Governors on every supposed error they may commit. He attributed much of the existing mischief, to the Parliament being founded on too narrow a base, and to the unhappy difference of religion which existed in the country, both these circumstances give a cast of prejudice and bigotry to the Irish Parliament. The happiness of the country then demand that they should resort to an higher and more enlightened Legislature, who would be above those local prejudices. He ridiculed the idea of national pride, when we were not able to defend ourselves, and considered the Legislature of this country to be unable to that object, being exhausted, and that on that circumstance hung the hope of those who looked forward to a separation. With regard to the civil rights of the people of Ireland being surrendered by an Union, he knew of no rights which they had not from the law of England, and by that law they would continue to be governed after an Union as well as before.

Col. Vereker.—I lament exceedingly that any thing should have been introduced into the Address, to interrupt that unanimity that I should always wish to see prevail in this House. Whenever the name of my sovereign is mentioned loving and reverencing him as I do, it goes to my heart to be obliged to object to any Address directed to him. But however great my attachment may be to my King, I must not forget my country.

Sir, if I could be persuaded that a Legislative Union with Great Britain would insure internal tranquillity to this distracted country, if I could be persuaded that it would prevent foreign invasion, or if I could be persuaded that it would add to our national wealth, I should most cheerfully agree in the principle of it, but sir, when I consider that instead of securing our internal tranquillity, it would be more likely to create a renewal of the rebellion, when I consider that instead of preventing foreign invasion it would from the disturbance such a measure would occasion be more likely to invite it; and when I reflect that so far from enriching the nation it would evidently impoverish it, by draining it of the men of principal property in the country, I cannot for a moment hesitate to give the measure my most decided disapprobation. Sir, it has been said that if we reject if this project, England will leave us to ourselves, but Sir, I thank God there are loyal men enough in this country, (if they are not forced from their allegiance) to put down the turbulent; and there is little reason to fear that England would be so blind to her own interest in the event of an invasion, as to allow the French to make any serious impression on

this country. Sir, theſe being my ſentiments not taken up heartily, but the reſult of mature conſideration, I ſhall vote for the amendment of my Hon. Friend.

Mr. O'HARA ſaid, the Iriſh Parliament had uniformly been making acquiſitions for the country from the time of the Octennial bill to this day. He denied the right of Parliament to alter the Conſtitution. The people alſo would deny that right, and they would equally deny the right of the Britiſh Parliament, though encreaſed with a Iriſhmen, to legiſlate for them. The Parliament of Ireland he conſidered as a peace-maker between the King and People. Send them to England, and to whom could the People then complain? To the King only or his Miniſter, for in the Britiſh Parliament they cannot have confidence. Of the connexion between the two countries he thought there was no danger, ſo long as Great Britain preſerved her navy excluſively, nor ſhould ſhe in that caſe entertain any jealouſy of our progreſs in wealth and commerce.

Mr. LEE would willingly give up national pride, or any ſuch paſſion, if the ſacrifice would ſecure tranquillity. But he had well conſidered the ſubject, and was convinced it could have no ſuch effect. It was a wicked and an atrocious attempt, and could produce only eternal diſcontent and rebellion. Should the Miniſter attempt to force it, language would want a name for his crime, even already fraud and force had been reſorted to, fraud in turning out the old ſervants of the Crown, becauſe they would not violate their conſcience and force, by introducing a foreign force to over-awe the people. But he was convinced an Engliſh ſoldier would never fight againſt the liberty of the Iriſh people, the firelock would fall from his palſied arm. This meaſure could not tend to tranquillize, for it was exactly that meaſure which the diſaffected wiſhed to be adopted. Did the Miniſter wiſh to divide the loyal men of Ireland? This was the way to do it. Did he reſort to this meaſure, confident of his ſuperior ſtrength in his imported foreigners? If ſo, he would find himſelf miſtaken. Ireland would not be kept down. The 260,000 men, whom the Britiſh Miniſter had in arms, would not be able to effect it. When America attempted to ſhake off the yoke, France aſſiſted her—France, with her old government, aſſiſted America at the other ſide the Atlantic. Is not Ireland nearer than America? Is not the new Government of France more powerful than her old one? It is in Ireland that Britain is now vulnerable. Hither, then, ſhe ſhould direct her care. It is apparent there is ſome radical error in the ſyſtem of 'Iriſh Government. It ſhould be ſought for and corrected, elſe here the ſeeds of diſcontent would fructify for ever. England herſelf ſeemed now to be approaching to her grand *climacteric*. Once ſhe was democratic, and at that time the Miniſter was obliged to look to the landed intereſt for ſupport, but ſince the Revolution, though there were

not 116 Placemen and Penſioners in the Britiſh Houſe of Commons (there are now only 80), yet the Miniſter was become leſs dependent on the country gentlemen, they continued ſince to become leſs important to the Miniſter of the day, and dupes indeed would be the landed men of England, if they ever ſuffer 100 Iriſh Members to be introduced into the Britiſh Commons, for then indeed the Miniſter will be independent of them and of the country. With his forty-ſix Scotchmen on one land, his corps of ſeapoys (for even the Nabobs have repreſentatives in that virtuous Parliament to which you are called on to give up your intereſts), on the other, and his one hundred hardy Hibernians as a corps of reſerve, what may not he do, thus ſupported? Mr. Lee declared it his opinion as a Lawyer, and he ſtaked his character upon it, that the Legiſlature was not competent to the change they were now called on to make. But they might be made competent. Let the Parliament be diſſolved, and a new one ſummoned, public notice being given that they are aſſembled for the expreſs purpoſe of conſidering this meaſure. Such a Parliament would be competent, becauſe they would come commiſſioned with expreſs authority for the purpoſe. He boaſted of being among the firſt who reſiſted this meaſure, and did not wait to know the terms, its a queſtion of principle and not of terms. No terms ſhould induce a man to commit murder, no terms ſhould induce a woman to part with her honour, no terms ſhould induce a nation to part with its conſtitution, or a people to part with its liberties, all thoſe are incommenſurable with terms, there was a moral turpitude in the thing itſelf, that no terms could make admiſſible. A nation ſhould not chaffer about the price at which it ſhould ſell his liberty. Who would ſettle the terms? Who would appreciate the value of a nation's liberty? Could it be calculated by arithmetic, or meaſured by a gauging-rod? For theſe reaſons he gave his decided approbation to the amendment.

Mr. CROOKSHANK. Sir, I riſe to ſupport the amendment:—When I contemplate the awful magnitude of the queſtion now before you, and reflect on the ſacred duty impoſed on every member of this Houſe, I feel myſelf almoſt diſcouraged from obtruding my ſentiments on this momentous occaſion. But, Sir, I cheriſh the ſanguine hope, that this Houſe will liſten with patience and indulgence to the ſentiments of every individual, however humble or obſcure, in a diſcuſſion which involves in it's iſſue, not only the exiſtence of national independence, but moſt probably of ſocial order in this country. Sir, I truſt I ſhall be able to ſhew, that ſhould this Houſe pronounce the ſentence of it's own annihilation, it will by that fatal vote, at once violate the great truſt of legiſlation, and for ever ſacrifice to the avaricious monopoly of a rival kingdom our commercial energy, and national proſperity. Sir, in the diſcuſſion of this queſtion, I ſhall beg leave to ſubmit two propoſitions to your conſideration:—In the

firſt place, I deny (with the utmoſt deference and reſpect) that this Houſe has any right, or is in anywiſe whatever, competent to ſurrender or transfer by compact or otherwiſe, without the previous authority of it's conſtituents, that legiſlative truſt, delegated by them for a limited period, and ſubject to the conditions aſcertained by the conſtitution.

And in the next place, granting, but by no means admitting, it to be competent to this Houſe, to make any ſuch ſurrender, or transfer of it's truſt, I hope I ſhall be able to prove, that the propoſed Union can be in no way beneficial to this country; that it can neither extend our trade, or augment our capital; and that ſo far from tending to the reſtoration of tranquillity, it muſt, by inflaming the general diſcontent, contribute to that moſt dreadful event, a ſeparation of the two countries.

Sir, in diſcuſſing the queſtion of the competence of this Houſe to annihilate it's own independent authority, by the propoſed Union with Great Britain, I truſt we ſhall be guided by the great and unalterable principles of reaſon, juſtice, and good faith, and not ſtoop to a ſervile imitation of narrow and arbitrary precedents, formed by other countries. Let us by thoſe great principles, examine the right and competency of this Houſe, and ſee how they can be ſupported.

Deputed by the people to exerciſe the ſole power of making laws, choſen for a limited period preſcribed by the conſtitution, and at the time of it's election, no meaſure of Union avowed by Government, or in the contemplation of it's conſtituents, will any man who underſtands the principles, or has imbibed the ſpirit of the conſtitution, ſay—that this Houſe, conſtituted under ſuch reſtrictions of duration and authority, has a right, or is competent to ſurrender or transfer that temporary and qualified truſt, by compact with ſovereign power of another kingdom? Sir, I deny that the parliament of an independent ſtate, for which the members of that parliament are truſtees, has any right whatever, without the permiſſion of it's conſtituents expreſsly or impliedly given for the purpoſe, to ſurrender to another country the whole or any part of it's legiſlative authority.

Sir, I am aware that parliament, by the conſtitution, contains within itſelf, the undoubted right to remedy thoſe defects which, from accident or authority, may have crept into the frame of the Conſtitution itſelf; but this power is confined to the reformation and improvement of the conſtitution within itſelf, and does not extend to the annihilation or transfer of any of it's integral parts to the ſovereign power of another country. This power can never, upon principle or precedent, be contended to belong to the repreſentatives of the people, but by expreſs or implied delegation. And ſo ſtrongly (as it has been already well obſerved) were the Britiſh miniſters, in the reign of queen Anne, impreſſed with

this great conſtitutional principle, that in preparing for the Union of England and Scotland, they felt it neceſſary to declare in the proclamation for convening the Scotch parliament, that they were called together for the purpoſe of arranging and ſettling the treaty of Union then in contemplation; reaſonably concluding, that the election of repreſentatives, after ſuch an avowal of the intended project, muſt be conſidered as permiſſion to diſcuſs, and finally decide upon that queſtion.

But, Sir, can any man pretend to ſay, that that the Engliſh Miniſters of the preſent day, have proceeded with the ſame conſtitutional deference to the public mind? Did they, at the election of this parliament, avow, or even hint, this long-premeditated deſign againſt the liberties of this country? Was not this meaſure, till very lately, wrapped in a fraudulent and myſterious ſecreſy, in order to ſurpriſe a terrified or indolent people into a ſudden ſurrender of their independence? Sir, there is no colour for ſuppoſing any permiſſion expreſſed or implied to diſcuſs this great queſtion, given by our conſtituents, who did not even ſuſpect, or contemplate ſuch a ſubject, as intended for the conſideration of parliament, at the time they had choſen this Houſe for the ordinary purpoſes of legiſlation. Sir, it has been ſaid, and I preſume may be ſaid this night, that the ſilence of the people in ſeveral diſtricts of the kingdom, is a proof of their acquieſcence in the parliamentary diſcuſſion of this queſtion; to this conſtruction of their ſilence, I proteſt, as falſe and utterly unfounded. Sir, that ſilence proceeds either from terror, languid indolence, or more generally from inſidious policy. Sir, it is the ſilence of the republican, who exults in the proſpect of a meaſure, tending to inflame the general diſcontent, and thereby promote his favourite object of ſeparation. Sir, let us not be deceived by deluſive appearances. Let us guard againſt the inſidious ſophiſtry of thoſe who would perſuade that the people of Ireland are ſo inſenſible to their intereſts, as to remain the approving ſpectators of a baſe unequal compact, by which their commercial rights and intereſts muſt for ever be ſurrendered to the care and guardianſhip of a people whoſe habit is ſelfiſh monopoly, and whoſe uniform diſpoſition to this country has been envious emulation and illiberal jealouſy. Sir, I truſt there is not in human nature credulity to ſwallow that falſhood, that the people of Ireland would chooſe ſuch benevolent guardians for their riſing commerce. Let me, Sir, diſmiſs this part of my argument, by conjuring this Houſe to obſerve the moſt inviolable faith with their conſtituents, to inculcate by their conduct and example a reſpect for the principles of the conſtitution; without which it will be in vain to enforce it from the ignorant multitude by the accumulation of penal laws. Sir, we are the truſtees of the people for a limited time; let us, at the expiration of our truſt, render back that conſtitution

improved, if poſſible; if not, at leaſt inviolate. Let us diſarm the calumny of thoſe democratic incendiaries, who will not fail to inflame the people, by repreſenting the conduct of this Houſe as an unwarrantable aſſumption of power, in order to deſtroy a conſtitution, of which we were only the depoſitaries.

Having ſaid thus much on the firſt part of my argument, permit me, with great humility, to ſay a few words on the laſt part. Let me, Sir, having ſuppoſed for argument's ſake that we have the right or are authorized to entertain this great queſtion, and to enter on the treaty, enquire what will be the immediate and manifeſt conſequences of it's adoption. Sir, the evils of this meaſure will be certain and immediate; its alledged advantages, if any, contingent and remote. We are required to ſurrender our national dignity, conſtitutional privileges, the natural and proud right of exerting our own faculties in the care of our own intereſts; and for what equivalent are we to make thoſe immenſe ſacrifices? No immediate advantage, no preſent benefit is pretended to reſult from an union; but we are amuſed with the deluſive picture of its diſtant conſequences in our extended commerce, augmented capital, tranquillity reſtored, ſocial order improved and ſecured. Sir, let me with great humility caution this Houſe againſt liſtening with too credulous confidence to the fallacious hopes and ſpecious proſpects of chimerical advantage held out by a country from which this nation has too often experienced commercial reſtraint and graſping monopoly. Let us calmly weigh the reality and ſolidity of thoſe pretended advantages which we are told muſt reſult from an Union, and for which we are required to reſign for ever to a rival ſtate the abſolute controul of our national concerns. Let us for a moment conſider what is, at preſent, the commercial freedom of Ireland, and whether it is likely to be profitably extended by the propoſed Union with Great Britain? Sir, Ireland, after many glorious and ſucceſsful ſtruggles, at length extorted from the monopoly of Great Britain, and now enjoys an unreſtrained freedom of commerce to every part of the world, (the Eaſt Indies and Great Britain excepted.)

Sir, as to the Eaſt India trade, it will be ſufficient to obſerve, that with reſpect to it, we ſtand exactly upon the ſame footing with Great Britain; that branch of commerce being confined (with the exception of ſome privileges of private trade, ſecured under the Eaſt India charter and the 33d of the King) to an excluſive company, of which the Iriſh may become members as eaſily as the inhabitants of Great Britain, by the only mode, that of purchaſing Eaſt India ſtook. So that with reſpect to it, we have the ſame privileges of private adventure, and the ſame opportunity of ſharing the profits of the company with the Britiſh nation. But, Sir, we are told that an Union will remove the pre-

ſent reſtraints on the direct trade to Great Britain, and open the Britiſh markets to our riſing manufactures.

Sir, it can afford no aſſiſtance or protection to our great ſtaple manufacture the linen, beyond what it at preſent enjoys by compact with England. Our linens are preferred in the Britiſh market to thoſe of the north of Europe; becauſe of their ſuperior quality, and becauſe we relinquiſh the woollen trade to England, as an equivalent for the preference of our linens. But, Sir, let me aſk, does any man entertain the moſt diſtant idea that in the other leading branches of manufacture, Ireland, without capital to ſupport or ſkill to conduct them, could hope not only to rival England in them in foreign markets, but even excel her in her own; for this is the proſpect gravely held out to Ireland, that ſhe may one day, by ſucceſsful emulation, underſell England in her own markets. Sir, our commerce can never be extended or improved by an Union, which transfers to the jealous controul of a foreign power the protection of our commercial rights, and for which in return no additional freedom of trade is provided, but the barren and prepoſterous privilege of attempting to rival Great Britain in her great ſtaple manufacture, and in her own markets. Still more abſurd and inconſiſtent it is to ſuppoſe, that our capital could be augmented by an Union.

Sir, the enormous drain of wealth from this country, in conſequence of the almoſt incalculable encreaſe of abſentees, muſt exhauſt the beſt reſources of the ſtate, and to ſuppoſe that this loſs could be ever counterbalanced, by the influx of Britiſh wealth, through the channel of commercial adventure, would be to indulge in a falſe and chimerical hope. Sir, can it be reaſonably expected that the Britiſh merchant or manufacturer, quitting the tranquil and orderly ſociety in England, will embark his capital in a country juſt emerging from rebellion, and but too likely to relapſe into the ſame calamity, from the encreaſed cauſes of general diſcontent? Sir the future ſtate of this country, inſtead of giving new confidence and furniſhing incitement, muſt, I fear, finally diſcourage, and even baniſh our own. What then is the general reſult? With our foreign trade clogged by Britiſh controul, our Channel trade wholly impracticable and deluſive, our reſources drained away, and our people diſaffected,—will any man ſay, that we can hope for the reſtoration of tranquillity? Sir, with ſuch ſtubborn elements of diſcord, I fear we may expect that an Union with Great Britain, will be the awful and fatal prelude to a convulſive ſeparation of theſe countries. Sir, it is but too obvious, that an Union muſt contribute to this dreadful event. In the firſt place, by augmenting the number of the diſaffected, it muſt reinforce the conſpiracy in the country, now rather checked than ſubdued; and in the next place, by inducing our principal landholders to reſide in Great Britain, we ſhall be de-

prived of the influence, courage and activity, which they exerted ſo ſucceſsfully in oppoſing the late rebellion. Thus, Sir, by the augmentation of the diſaffected, and the abſence of the loyal, ſhould rebellion again ariſe, our defence will be weakened, and who can anſwer for the conſequences that may enſue?

Let me then, Sir, humbly conjure this Houſe to recollect its ſacred truſt, it's ſolemn reſponſibility; let me entreat them to preſerve and reſtore to their conſtituents inviolate, that conſtitution under which we have proſpered beyond example, and the ſurrender of which, by a ſordid unequal contract, can produce no benefit, whatever, and muſt entail evils and misfortunes incalculable on this country.

Mr. ST. G. DALY thought nothing but a radical arrangement like this, could heal the diſtractions of this country. He allowed Parliament was incompetent to take away the rights of the people—but he denied that an Union violated any right. He allowed praiſe to the framers of the Conſtitution of 82—but contended it was the ſeparate exiſtence then eſtabliſhed that made the meaſure now neceſſary.

Mr. M'NAGHTEN. I confeſs I had great hopes from the liberal manner in which the Noble Lord introduced his motion on the addreſs, as well as from the wording of the addreſs itſelf, that it would not have met with any oppoſition in this Houſe. The Addreſs went no further than to recommend to the wiſdom of Parliament to conſider of ſome effectual means to ſtrengthen and render permanent the connexion between this country and Britain; and ſurely, Sir, after the late violent and wicked attempt which we have all witneſſed to tear this kingdom from England, no man can deny that ſome ſcheme to render the connexion between the two countries more ſecure is abſolutely neceſſary, ſince an Hon. Gentleman on the other ſide of the Houſe has thought fit to move an amendment, as it were, to force an explicit declaration from the Houſe, of the ſpecific meaſure it thinks beſt to adopt for this purpoſe, I ſhould feel that I did not do my duty as a Member of Parliament if I did not meet the queſtion fairly; and Sir, I do not think any man will do his duty this night if he endeavours either to ſkulk from, or to evade the queſtion. Sir, I feel no difficulty in declaring it to be my firm opinion, that the only method to ſecure the connexion between the two kingdoms, and the exiſtence of this country as a civilized ſtate, is a Legiſlative Union. I did not take up this opinion this day or yeſterday, it is the reſult of long and ſerious reflection; and Sir, I truſt the Gentlemen on the other ſide will allow every Member of this Houſe to form an opinion for himſelf; for my part, I ſhall clearly and diſtinctly avow mine before their Houſe and the country in ſpite of all the violence and clamour of the Hon. Gen-

themselves. Sir, the honourable Gentlemen have been very liberal of virulent and abusive epithets when they speak of England; they tell you that she is a selfish, a monopolising, and an illiberal nation; and they assert that she is the rival, not the friend and benefactress of Ireland.—Sir, after denying these assertions *point blank*, and asserting that the conduct of England towards this kingdom deserves no such harsh and ungrateful return,—I shall take the question upon these grounds,—and, Sir, shall assert without without the fear of being contradicted, that if it is true that England is that selfish country she is described to be, by the honourable gentlemen, she will for that very reason take especial care of the interests of Ireland, if it shall so happen that Ireland, by an Union, shall come to be made *part and parcel* of Britain. The interests of this country and of England will in that case be identified; and I do say, that England will have as good reason to promote the welfare of the county of Cork, or the county of Antrim, as she will have to promote that of the county of Middlesex, or the county of Rutland.—Sir, although I have declared very explicitly my opinion on the measure of an Union, I have by no means pledged myself to support it on the terms that may possibly be offered to this House; at the same time I must declare that I have, from the liberal policy of the age and the enlightened wisdom of the Prime Minister of England, no apprehension that any terms will be offered to us derogatory to the interest or honour of the nation.

Sir Boyle Roche said, that a great deal had been spoken and written about Union and about John Bull, and Sheelagh and Hibernia,—now for his part he saw no reason to prevent a consummation between the parties, as the issue would be a young Hibernian;—and although Lawyers and Attorneys, and Aldermen and Butchers, and Chandlers and Blacksmiths, were talking and writing upon what they knew nothing about, he was for an Union, to put an end to uniting between Presbyterians and Protestants and Catholics, to overturn the Constitution.

Hon. Mr. Skeffington declared, that no person was more firmly attached to British Connexion than he was, for no man was more fully impressed with the reciprocal advantages both countries derive from their mutual exertions and affections; but he reprobated in strong terms the idea of transferring or surrendering the Legislative Independence of Ireland to any Power on earth, and warmly supported Mr. Ponsonby's Amendment.

Mr. French said, that the very able discussion which had taken place, fully convinced him that Parliament was not competent to decide on the question of an incorporating Union with Great Britain;—that whatever commercial or other advantages

might be derived from ſuch a meaſure, he felt that he was not authorized to give it his ſupport without the expreſs directions of his Conſtituents,—he therefore ſupported the Amendment, and oppoſed the Addreſs.

Colonel B. MAXWELL ſaid he would not have troubled the Houſe with his ſentiments this night, was he not convinced, that from the ſpirit and enthuſiaſm which pervaded the Houſe, he would be precluded from any other opportunity. He truſted that the deciſion of the Houſe this night, would for ever put to reſt a queſtion which, fatally for the peace and tranquillity of Ireland, was now brought forward by thoſe who were totally ignorant of the ſentiments or the real intereſts of Ireland.

He fully concurred with the Honourable and learned Gentleman, (Mr. G. Ponſonby) who moved the Amendment, that Parliament were totally incompetent to entertain the meaſure,—he therefore gave it his moſt unequivocal and decided oppoſition *in limine*. He found himſelf ſtrongly fortified in this doctrine by the beſt writers on civil government,—and quoted a paſſage from Locke, which fully corroborated his aſſertion. Parliament were competent to every good purpoſe;—but it was abſurd to ſuppoſe, they were competent to their own annihilation:—He would ſuppoſe for a moment, that a Parliament could be got baſe or corrupt enough to ſurrender their Legiſlative Functions to the Executive Power, will the ſtrongeſt advocate for the omnipotence of Parliament ſay, that they were competent to do ſo. To him it ſeemed that the act they were now called on to do, was an act very little inferior in political turpitude, namely, to ſurrender their functions to a foreign Legiſlature. Expunge from your Journals the glorious Reſolution of 1782, "that the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland were the only power competent to make laws to bind Ireland,"—declare this reſolution to be a libel on Conſtitution, before you paſs a law, which transfers to the Legiſlature of Great Britain the power of making laws to bind Ireland. To this it will be anſwered, that Ireland will be repreſented in the Britiſh Parliament:—will any one be weak enough to believe, that were any differences to ariſe as to local advantages or local prejudices, 40 or 50 Iriſh Members, in an Houſe of Commons conſiſting of above 600, will have ſufficient weight to protect the trade, commeree, or liberties of Ireland; we may be repreſented in the theory of this meaſure, but in practice of it, it would in his mind be infinitely better to make a total ſurrender of our Legiſlative Rights to the Parliament of Great Britain, than to have all the inconveniencies of this mock Repreſentation. He thought this meaſure ought equally to be oppoſed by Great Britain:—he underſtood, in the detail of this plan, the borough ſyſtem was to be preſerved; ſo that the county Members only

would be ſent from Ireland, the remaining ſeats would, he feared, be filled at the pleaſure of the Britiſh Miniſter;—beſides, the people of Great Britain ſhould be aware, that if Iriſhmen could be found baſe enough, to ſurrender the liberty and independance of their native country, they would ſoon become fit and ready inſtruments in the hands of a deſpotic Miniſter, to overturn the liberties of Great Britain.

He then adverted to the arguments made uſe of by an Hon. Member, (the Knight of Kerry) in ſupport of the meaſure, to which he replied at ſome length. He conjured the Houſe to reflect on the importance of their deciſion this night, He had often heard the Parliament calumniated, an opportunity now offered, to reſcue themſelves from every obloquy that had been thrown out againſt them. No ſtronger argument could be made uſe of in favour of the meaſure, than they would themſelves afford, if they negatived the amendment. A Parliament which could be baſe enough to betray the rights and liberties of their country, not only at preſent, but to all future generations, would deſerve annihilation.—He conjured the Houſe, as they valued their own character, as they valued the liberties of themſelves and their poſterity, as they valued the Britiſh Connexion, to convince the Miniſter of Great Britain, that they were determined, at the riſque of every thing that was dear to them, to ſupport and hand down unimpaired to their poſterity, the rights, liberties, and independance of their native land.

Colonel ARCHDALL ſaid, I am one of thoſe gentlemen who did not receive inſtructions from his Conſtituents. The loyal Electors of the county of Fermanagh have too much confidence in their Repreſentatives, to think that any thing from that ſide of the Houſe could tempt them to vote for ſo infamous a meaſure, or make them betray the truſt they have repoſed in them. I am convinced there is ſcarcely a man in the North-weſt who would not deprecate the perſon who would betray them and vote for an Union: for my part I will oppoſe it in every ſhape it comes before me.

Mr. BARRINGTON (judge of the admiralty) declared he roſe with the greateſt agitation. The exiſtence of Ireland was in queſtion, and he felt even the feeble talents with which nature had bleſſed him, ſhrink before the coloſſal magnitude of the ſubject; —he had heard of calm and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion, it was the language of a ſlave; he who could reflect on the annihilation of his country with apathy or indifference muſt be leſs than man or more than mortal. Whatever capacity, whatever ſpirit, whatever energy God or nature had given him, he conſidered himſelf as holding but in *truſt for his Country* to be expended for her uſe, whenever her oppreſſions or her diſtreſſes drew for their aſſiſtance.—He loved his

King, he adored the Conſtitution, and he now conſidered himſelf as defending both againſt the deſperate ſyſtem of an indefinitely ambitious miniſter. The Iriſh Parliament had heretofore deliberated on revocable local regulations, or national arrangement, but now a mighty and an imperial queſtion opened itſelf for their diſcuſſion—a project, to ſubject irrevocably one independant country to the will of another, and *both* to the will of a Miniſter already ſtronger than the Crown, and more powerful than the People, —and this great and important uſurpation ſtolen into Parliament through the fulſome paragraphs of an echoing congratulation—pledging the Houſe to the diſcuſſion of a principle ſubverſive of their liberties and in the hour of convaleſcence calling on it to commit ſuicide.—Ireland had not fair play; her Parliament had not fair play; the fouleſt and moſt unconſtitutional means he believed had been uſed to intimidate and to corrupt it, and either to force or to ſeduce a ſuffrage, when nothing but general, independant, uninfluenced, opinion could warrant for a moment the moſt diſtant view of ſo ruinous a ſubject. He had good reaſon to believe that corrupt and unconſtitutional means had been uſed by the noble Lord to individuals of the Iriſh Parliament (here Mr. Barrington was called to order and his words deſired to be taken down, on which Mr. Plunket roſe and declared the ſame opinion, and his determination to uſe ſtronger language; and recommended the words to be taken down in order to bring the ſubject forward. This not being perſiſted in by the Treaſury Bench, Mr. Barrington continued:)—He repeated that he had reaſon to believe that corrupt and unconſtitutional means had been uſed towards individuals of the Iriſh Parliament; ſome of thoſe means were open and avowed: two of the oldeſt, moſt reſpectable, and moſt beloved officers of the Crown had been diſplaced, becauſe they preſumed to hint an opinion adverſe to the Striplings dictates on a ſubject where their Country was at ſtake; their removals crowned them with glory and the Miniſter with contempt. He aſſerted that other Gentlemen in office, whoſe opinions were decidedly adverſe to the meaſure, but whoſe circumſtances could not bear ſimilar ſacrifices, were dragged to the altar of pollution, and forced againſt their will to vote againſt their Country;—he had good reaſon to believe that unconſtitutional interference had been uſed by the Executive power with the Legiſlative body—one Gentleman refuſed the inſtructions of his conſtituents and had been promoted. Peerages (as was rumoured) were bartered for the rights of minors, and every effort uſed to deſtroy the free agency of Parliament; if this was true, it encroached on the Conſtitution, and if the Executive power overſtept its bounds, the people are warranted to do the ſame on their part, and between both it may be annihilated, and leave a wondering world in amazement how the ſame people could be wiſe enough to frame the beſt

Conſtitution upon earth and fooliſh enough to deſtroy it. The Britiſh nation feel too well the value of political liberty to countenance the deſtruction of it in a ſiſter country, and muſt well know, that a Union forced or corrupted, can be neither permanent or advantageous; therefore were the meaſure beneficial inſtead of ruinous to Ireland, he ſhould object to any diſcuſſion brought forward under ſuch circumſtances. Misfortune has broken the ſpirit of Ireland, but ſhe is reviving.—She has been ſtunned by her fall, but has ſtill power to ſee her liberties and ſpirit to defend them;—the property, the talents, and the integrity of Ireland are devoted to her cauſe—draw tight the bonds between Great Britain and Ireland—but her Legiſlature ſhall be ſacred—one King and two kingdoms is the cry of her people.

The Britiſh Miniſter has too much wiſdom to have preſſed this meaſure on Ireland, had he known her temper and ſituation; but he has been greatly deceived by miſrepreſentation from this Country;—hot-headed injudicious ſpirits have been liſtened to, whilſt the ſage and honeſt repreſentation of the wiſeſt of Ireland's children has been diſregarded. Theſe were objections to any diſcuſſion of the ſubject, and much as he reſpected Great Britain, no idle parade of compliment ſhould prevail upon him one moment to loſe ſight of Ireland. He then argued at length on the incompetence of the Iriſh Commons to ſurrender the eſſence of their delegation;—Scotland was no example, her Parliament was differently framed; nor had Ireland any great reaſon to follow her meaſures.—She had ſold her country, but not till after ſhe had ſold her King; where then was the virtue of her precedent? the Iriſh Parliament was delegated by their conſtituents to make and modify laws, but not to form and mould revolutions; the power of that delegation was limited, and if the repreſentatives exceeded the ſubject of delegation in *one* inſtance, they might as juſtly exceed it in *another*, and they might in that caſe diſcuſs the queſtion of ſeparation with as much conſtitutional reaſoning as the queſtion of Union; becauſe the King being only one part, and the Parliament being only another part of the Conſtitution, they have no more right to ſay, we will give up our Parliament, than we will give up our King; they are not delegated for either purpoſe, and are *equally* bound by their Conſtitution and their *oath* to preſerve both; the miſconſtrued argument of parliamentary *omnipotence* falls before this reaſoning, nothing 'tis true, can controul or counteract Parliament *within its conſtitutional bounds*, but nothing can warrant it to *exceed them*; the very inſtant the delegated repreſentatives in Parliament grant away the Conſtitution which they were appointed to protect, the compact between them and their conſtituents becomes a nullity, their law of relinquiſhment is a nullity, and the conſtitution is virtually and inſtantly diſſolved.

The crowns of Great Britain and Ireland are as diſtinct as their Parliaments; but by the great conſtitutional compact, the Crown of Ireland is for ever to be worn by the king of Great Britain, and he is to govern Ireland, not in right of his Crown of Great Britain but in right of his Crown of Ireland. The two countries are indiſſolubly bound by this great compact, and the more ſacredly it is obſerved, the more confidence amongſt the people of both; but this compact is entirely mutual, and would the Britiſh nation call it a Union or a revolution if Mr. Pitt was to propoſe to reduce the Britiſh Parliament to 200 Commoners and 60 Lords, and ſend them over to legiſlate in Dublin for the good of the Empire? It is argued, that a Union with Great Britain is not a revolution, he conceived that to be a revolution which melts down one totally *independant* Crown into another, and incorporates one totally independant Legiſlature into the power and vortex of a greater ſtate, which takes away its excluſive authority over its own concerns, and transfers even its moſt trifling internal arrangements to another kingdom. But it is ſaid, we ſhould ſtill have a delegated body acting in the Parliament of the Empire; ſo we ſhould, but a body ſo totally diſproportionate to the united Parliaments of England and Scotland as to give no chance or poſſibility of carrying any meaſure of commercial rivalſhip in favour of this Country; 100 Iriſh to 547 Engliſh and Scotch would make a wretched diviſion, even if we could ſuppoſe all our repreſentatives pure which the example of Scottiſh repreſentatives diſproves: it is aſſerted that our intereſts would then be identified, and mutual, and no queſtion of rivalſhip could occur; that is falſe in fact, becauſe it is evident, that queſtions of commercial rivalſhip do at this inſtant exiſt, and ever muſt between the two countries; but they are immaterial cauſes of rivalſhip in compariſon to the effects of independance and ſecurity, and which our own Parliament can modify as well as the Parliament of Great Britain; but which, if united, is ſubject to theirs—and it is a folly to ſay, that *any* articles of Union with Ireland can ever be ſecure—if the intereſt of Great Britain induces a breach of them, where is our remedy? —the Scottiſh articles were broken, but ſhe had made herſelf a province; her Parliament was gone; ſhe had no redreſs but in the generoſity of Great Britain, like the paſſion of a lover which was loſt in the enjoyment; Scotland ſighed, and after two rebellions ſubmitted;—Ireland has riſen more in ten years by her independance than Scotland in a hundred by her ſubjection; and yet we are called upon to *try* the irrevocable *experiment* of dependance. Another proof that the articles of the Scotch Union are not conſidered ſacred is this, 45 Scotch repreſentatives were after a long debate agreed upon as a *proportionate* number to ſit in the Britiſh Parliament, and the imperial compact muſt neceſſarily have been, that the proportion ſo agreed on was to be kept up to

retain to Scotland her due proportional influence, and this appears a fundamental principle of that Union. Now the incorporation of 100 Iriſh members with diſtinct if not adverſe intereſt to thoſe of Scotland into the Britiſh Parliament, by increaſing the number of the whole totally takes away the proportionate influence of the 45 Scotch delegates, and ſo in fact deſtroys the moſt material and fundamental principle of the Scotch Union and of Scottiſh ſecurity. If then the Britiſh Miniſter violates that engagement with Scotland, to ſubjugate Ireland, it is equally clear he will play the ſame game when Ireland is dependant; and that as the Scottiſh Union was infringed to gain Ireland; ſo the Iriſh Union will be infringed to regain Scotland, and when the intereſt of Great Britain ſuggeſts the meaſure, will the voice of a few Iriſh delegates prevent it? we ſhould then have but little conſolation in regretting our own folly and reviling the treachery of the Miniſter. But ſurely the Iriſh repreſentatives in this Houſe, have no power or authority to elect other repreſentatives to delegate for Ireland, yet by uniting to the Parliaments of Great Britain they in part elect 547 Engliſh and Scotch members to legiſlate for Ireland, whom Ireland never ſaw nor heard of, nor ever delegated, this is an aſſumption extrinſick of their delegation, and which will not bind the nation. In point of Conſtitution therefore Ireland gained nothing and loſt every thing by the project; national pride like individual honour, ſtimulates to proſperity, and he could not without horror and diſmay behold the ſpirit of Iriſh independence and of Iriſh honour, ſinking lifeleſs into the grave of a Britiſh Legiſlature. In point of commerce the project was equally fallacious—Ireland had at this moment a right and a capacity to trade to every quarter of the globe more extenſively than her capital could purſue; the trade of Liverpool is owing to the enterprize of her merchants; and the trade of Dublin and of Cork is only cramped by the timidity of theirs, at this ſhort notice detail was impoſſible, but could any honorable member point out any one inſtance in which a Union alone could encreaſe the trade of Ireland for the benefit of *Iriſh* ſubjects, in what inſtance could our trade be advanced by a Union, which could not be effected *without* it? but even if it could be advanced by the project, could it be advanced in a degree commenſurate to the loſs of national ſecurity, national legiſlation, national property, and national independence? If England meant us well, ſurely ſhe might take away our reſtraints without rifling our liberties; and equalize our commerce without robbing our conſtitution—it was ſaid that Britiſh merchants would ſend capital to Ireland, that in fact is, that after Ireland is drained of her ſpecie by her abſentees, and of her commeree by monopolies, perhaps the Britiſh merchants might venture a hundred thouſand pounds to uſuriſe in Ireland, and tranſmit the profits to Great Britain, a glorious ex-

change for the security of a resident Parliament whose efforts had already raised Ireland *from* poverty to splendor—with a reluctance bordering on a breach Great Britain granted us the trade we now enjoy, and is it to be conceived she will sacrifice more willingly to our interests when *in* her power than when we were *out* of it?

A most disgusting example of sordid folly is exhibited by the corporation of Cork only. In order to prevail on Cork to declare for an Union she has been informed by Government, that her trade will increase by British capital, and her city be embellished by a royal dock-yard; what is the present obstruction to the trade of Cork? want of enterprize only—she has the same capacity to trade she could have by a Union: and however well situated for trade, there is not a naval town in Great Britain that has any trade. Cork has been grossly deceived; even if she did receive any advantage from the project, surely partial and uncertain advantage can never weigh against certain, general and national injury; Cork will yet return to her reason, and feel that she can have no interest independant of or separate from Ireland.

The farmer will feel this project—the demesne will be deserted by the absentee, and the labourer remain unemployed on the demesne; the produce of land must lower in value, whilst the rents of the present farms will remain the same, and as the consumption decreases, the evil will accompany it, till the once wealthy farmer becomes an impoverished heart-broken bankrupt. Absentees have already been justly accounted an important injury to Ireland; that injury must increase ten-fold—all the specie of Ireland will follow them half-yearly to Great Britain, the griping English agent will supplant the kind and indulgent landlord, and the Irish tenant become the impoverished slave of the Irish absentee.

The first measure of a Union must be taxation; the first act of kindness a tax of 10 per cent on Irish property, not modified to Irish circumstances by an Irish Parliament, but calculated by a Scottish minister and executed by a British authority; the tax-table of England will become the statute book of Ireland, and the great doubt will then be, whether our wants or our burthens are the greatest?

The treacherous reasons assigned for the completion of this project are our differences and our misfortunes: Differences which arose from the duplicity of that same Minister who now seeks to subdue us, and misfortunes which were stimulated by him, to adapt us for his own conquest.

But the settlement of these differences, and the alleviation of those misfortunes, is adapted to the deliberation of an Irish, and not of a British Parliament. The Irish Parliament is fully competent to consider, discuss and remedy the grievances of their own country; if a modification of tythes, an adjustment of religious controversies, an extension of trade by bounties or drawbacks, an encouragement

to manufactures, or to inland navigations; an equalization of taxes, or any other regulations become neceſſary. Why ſhould we apply to 547 Engliſh and Scotchmen, to arrange our trade and modify our national eſtabliſhments? 'Tis abſurd and inſolent to demand, and it would be mean, vicious and puſillanimous to ſubmit to.

Great Britain has *nothing* to give, which can compenſate the loſs of independance: we aſk no favour from her, and we will ſubmit to no injury; we will unite with her as a friend and as a ſiſter in the common cauſe; our lives and our properties ſhall be united with her in ſupport of our King and our conſtitution; we will riſe and fall with her; but we will not ſubmit to be ruled by a Britiſh faction, and plundered by a Britiſh Miniſter, to ſatisfy the avarice or the jealouſy of thoſe perſons, to whoſe confidence and liberality this Miniſter owes his gratitude, and which he can only repay by heaping burthens upon Ireland. If alledged to be a meaſure ſolely for the good of Ireland, he believed experience had convinced us that no Britiſh or Scottiſh Miniſter ever yet attempted to *force* upon Ireland any meaſure for the benefit of her commerce or conſtitution. When ſuch meaſures were brought forward, how lukewarm was the Miniſter's acquieſcence; and when the famous Propoſitions were diſcuſſed, it appeared that he affected to aſſiſt our trade; but it was at the expence of our conſtitution. The Iriſh Parliament ſaw the trick; the ſtate juggler was unveiled, and the meaſure relinquiſhed. What reaſons have we to place more confidence in Mr. Pitt's intentions towards us now, than at that memorable period?—the reverſe. It is as clear as noon-day, that his ſyſtem has been moſt treacherous; his government here excited the different ſects to oppoſe each other; an indolent ſyſtem was adopted, to permit ſome ſtrength to the diſaffected; then a vigorous ſyſtem, to give energy to the loyaliſt. Then government acted on the defenſive againſt treaſon; then the Miniſter plunged into martial law; the catholic and the proteſtant were alternately encouraged and depreſſed; the loyalty of the yeomanry ſaved Ireland; both parties had bled and were weak; and what is called the lenient ſyſtem was adopted; the rebel was pardoned, and ſent back to rob, to murder, and burn; the yeoman and the loyaliſt were either inſulted, oppreſſed or degraded, in ſome inſtances *executed*; the loyal national ſpirit was purpoſely ſuppreſſed; and, when all was ripe for a government revolution, the meaſure of a Union, equally oppreſſive and diſguſting to every claſs and every ſect, was brought forward in expectation that we were too worn, too weak, and too indifferent to reſiſt or reject any thing which profeſſed to be for our tranquillization. And to prove that this ſyſtem was adopted for theſe purpoſes, it is only neceſſary to recollect the words of the noble Lord who propoſes it; "that it had been a meaſure long con-

ſidered and maturely weighed." If that was the caſe, it was obvious that it might have been brought forward in a time of tranquillity; and equally obvious, that it had been purpoſely poſtponed, till this deſperate ſyſtem had ſufficiently worked upon the nation, to adapt it to the Miniſter's will and pleaſure. But the Parliament has yet virtue enough to reſiſt an act of national degradation. The Britiſh Miniſter had better beware of this ſyſtem of treachery and fraternization; it was by the very ſame means, and with the very ſame objects, that the French Republic have overrun all Europe; and with the very ſame ſyſtem, and for the very ſame purpoſes, that ſhe has aſſailed Ireland—a deſperate example to the Britiſh empire, and an attempt unworthy of the generoſity and character of the Britiſh nation.

The object of the Miniſter is, in another reſpect, fully obvious; his meaſures have been ſpeculative; deſperate, deep and unparalleled. Great Britain owes much to him for preſerving her from foreign power; but it has been atchieved at the expence of much blood, much money, and much conſtitution; his ſucceſs has warranted his meaſures ſo far: but the day may come, when ſome rival Miniſter may dare to queſtion thoſe meaſures, and *particularly Mr. Pitt's conduct and ſyſtem in Ireland*; that may be a grievous day, and it is neceſſary he ſhould be able to meet it with effect; he is already more powerful than the Crown, and more powerful than the people: but it will be neceſſary he ſhould inſure the perpetuity of that power. One hundred Iriſh members in the Britiſh Parliament, loaded with the patronage of Ireland, ſeduced by the art of the Britiſh Miniſter, and uninſpired by that ſpirit which national reſidence will naturally inſure, give themſelves up to his guidance, and for ever confirm his power and his authority, which for ever prevents even the queſtioning of his conduct, and leaves to the Britiſh nation only the power of murmur.

Surely that wiſe nation muſt ſee the danger, nay the ruin, of giving ſo great a power to any Miniſter, as that which the incorporation of 100 Iriſh members muſt inevitably inſure, The liberty, the free agency of the Throne and the conſtitutional rights of the Britiſh people, muſt ſink before ſuch a power; and the plunder of Ireland will but poorly atone for the diminution of their liberty.

The compact between Great Britain and Ireland was not all of one ſide; there was a mutual dependance, to the mutual advantage of both. She took our linens; we fed her fleet—ſhe protected our trade; we gave her our ſoldiers. Her fleets and her armies were as material to her, as our linens and our commerce to us. There is no nation on earth would not be proud of our connexion on the ſame terms; and therefore let it never be ſaid, that the dependance is ſolely on our ſide. England might ruin us; but in doing ſo, ſhe would deſtroy herſelf; and ſhe is too wiſe and too cunning to ſuppoſe, that a wounded limb could give vigour to an enfeebled body—he ſaid it was called a meaſure of

permanent ſtrength and ſtability to the empire; but if that ſtrength and ſtability is to be purchaſed at the expence of Ireland, and its annihilation among the nations of the world, there is no man who bears the heart of an Iriſhman, will dare aſſent to its adoption. He ſaid that on the abſtract queſtion he was clear and decided, the diſcuſſion of detail admitted a principle which he was determined to reſiſt by every means and to every extremity, he declared his ſentiments openly, boldly and deciſively, that no terms Great Britain could grant, no favour ſhe could beſtow, would form any compenſation for the loſs of our independance and ſecurity; and though he had on moſt ſubjects freely and zealouſly given his ſupport to the king's government,—on this queſtion no earthly conſideration could ever conſole him for ſurrendering the honour, the ſecurity, and the liberties of his country.

Sir J. Blaquiere followed Mr. Barrington, and in ſtrong terms reſiſted the charges of undue influence and corruption, made by the honourable member againſt the Adminiſtration, obſerving how completely this charge was refuted, by the conduct and ſpeeches of ſo many gentlemen, the reputed friends of Government.

He aſked, emphatically, if there was a man in that Houſe, who ſeriouſly wiſhed that things ſhould remain as they were? Would it offend the pride of gentlemen, to ſay he thought the country incompetent to its own defence? What ſort of a ſtate might it now have been in, if Monſieur Hoche had landed; or if any other attempt made in force, had ſucceeded? Were we to wait for ſuccour, till acts of Parliament had paſſed the two kingdoms, and then rely on the precarious ſupport alone of ſuch men, whoſe loyalty and ſpirit would prompt them to volunteer in our ſervice, as had been the caſe on the preſent occaſion? He animadverted in the moſt pointed terms of reproach, upon the ſtrictures which ſome gentlemen had indulged their fancies, in making upon the motives of their being ſent hither, forgetting what a different language was held in the moment of trouble, the time they came. He honoured and admired the gallant ſpirit of the Iriſh gentry, and people, as much as any man, becauſe he knew them; ſtill he contended we were not a match ſingly for any of the great powers of Europe. You cannot fire a 24 pound ſhot out of a 12 pound gun; you muſt ally with ſomebody. Shall it be, ſaid he, with the German Kings, the arch-deſpoilers of their helpleſs neighbours, who have parcelled out their territories, as robbers do their plunder? It began with Poland, when the falſe policy and forbearance of England is much to be lamented. Savoy, Switzerland, Venice and Rome, were forced in their turn to yield; and much it is to be wiſhed, that Naples may be the laſt victim of their rapacity; gorged with which, they are now vindicating each other's crimes, by a participation

in each other guilt.—You cannot connect yourself with profligacy like this; to England you muſt recur; it was ſo ordained by the God of Nature, and is ſo eſſential for both, that he thought England, like Ireland, incapable of reſiſting the common enemy, and ſtill more formidable enemy, the fatal ſpirit of innovation, without it.

But waive thoſe concerns for a moment, he ſaid, and look no further than home: Is it poſſible that any tranquillity can be expected in the land, whilſt ſo many cauſes of diſcontent and diſſatisfaction among the people remain?

Are not the Catholics looking for emancipation—the Preſbyterians for reform—a great bulk of the people for a regulation of tithes? and do not all theſe diſcontents aggregated together, and abetted by the machinations of the United Societies, make a formidable enemy in your boſom? There are not two ways of meeting it. The honourable member who propoſed the amendment (Mr. Ponſonby) with a flow of ſuch tranſcendant eloquence, as had ſeldom been heard in that Houſe, had, among other things for his purpoſe, expreſsly ſtated, that the Roman Catholics muſt oppoſe the Union. He knew not the mind of Catholics upon the ſubject; but he ſhould ſpeak his own—That the Roman Catholics, under the preſent order of things, could never be accommodated, as he feared, with what they aſked, without imminent danger to the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment, both in Church and State; but if once an Union ſhall be adopted, all theſe difficulties would vaniſh, and he ſhould ſee none in granting them every thing they deſired. What the ſentiments of Government upon this ſubject were, he knew not; he ſpoke his own; thoſe he would ever maintain; but be this as it may, ſure he was, that this and every other cauſe of diſſatisfaction, would make fit objects of diſcuſſion, when that great queſtion ſhould come under conſideration.

Remove theſe difficulties, unite with England, and ſee the proud ground on which you are placed: Ireland, geographically and phyſically conſidered, ſtands pre-eminently before all other nations, the fit mart or emporium of the known world: She embarks in the inviting commerce, aided by Engliſh capitals, without taxes, and without a debt, whilſt all the other nations of Europe are ſinking under their burthens. In the great articles of land and money, behold for a moment the change—Why pay 6 per cent. on mortgages here, when in England the common intereſt is 4, the higheſt five? Why ſhall a 5 per cent. Iriſh debenture, in the London market, ſell for 70l. only, when an Engliſh debenture, of the ſame value, ſhall fetch 75l.? But above all, ſee how this meaſure would affect the landed intereſt: In England, the ordinary value of land is rated at from 25 to 30 years purchaſe; in Ireland has ſeldom been known to exceed 20 years purchaſe; at

the preſent moment, not half that value: yet the land is as good, the titles as far as the law can go, as well ſecured; the rents in general better paid—then, why this defalcation? Becauſe, there muſt be a ſomething vitally defective in our political ſituation, of which not the ſeller, but the buyer is the judge; and on many other ſubjects he enlarged more.

He honoured the independence, the pride; he adored the conſtitution, the liberties of his country; with ſome of theſe, he would part only with his life; but the object neareſt his heart, and for which he was diſpoſed to make ſome ſacrifices, was the peace and tranquillity of the kingdom; and appealing to Heaven, he declared, that he ſaw no poſſible means of obtaining that bleſſing, but through the meaſure propoſed; he had given every poſſible conſideration to the ſubject, which the limited portion of underſtanding with which the God of nature had endowed him, would admit—peace among ourſelves, and ſecurity againſt the common enemy, were all he deſired—and added Sir John, if any man will ſhew me any other means by which theſe objects can be attained, I will vote againſt the Union; but gentlemen know, that it is impoſſible.

Mr. Dobbs.—Sir, when this queſtion was firſt ſuggeſted, I am free to confeſs, that I thought it worthy of conſideration. The ſyſtem of governing Ireland by corruption, had filled me with diſguſt and indignation. The horrors of the late rebellion, and the dreadful animoſities ſtill exiſting, inclined me to liſten to any thing likely to tranquillize this country. But Sir, even when in doubt, I never for a moment conſidered a Legiſlative Union, in any other light than an evil: All that I ever heſitated about, was whether, by accepting of it, I might not avoid a greater. In this temper and with theſe feelings, I have given the ſubject a full, and I truſt diſpaſſionate inveſtigation, the reſult of which is, a decided opinion, that Great Britain cannot propoſe any terms, that Ireland ought to accede to.

Sir, it has been held out that great commercial advantages would be gained by this Legiſlative Union, and alſo that it would end our domeſtic animoſities. Both, Sir, are fallacious. In point of trade Great Britain has nothing to beſtow. Cork and ſome of the ſouthern, and weſtern ports of Ireland, I am informed think differently; but if they do, I am perſuaded they they are under a deception. They have at preſent every advantage that their ſituation can give them, as to their foreign trade; the whole kingdom of Ireland poſſeſſing it as fully as Great Britain herſelf; for the trade to the Eaſt Indies is equally open to an Iriſhman, as to a native of Great Britain; it being veſted by charter in a company, whoſe ſtock is every day at market. There might be ſome regulations as to the channel trade; but if the ports of both

countries were free ports to each other, it would be pernicious to us; becauſe every infant manufacture of Ireland would then be annihilated. As a proof of this, I will only give one inſtance, the cotton manufacture, as the reaſoning as to it muſt apply to every other. It is protected by a duty of upwards of ten per cent. and yet in every article of that branch, that riſes to any degree of fineneſs, we are underſold in our own market, owing to Engliſh ſuperiority in ſkill and capital. Sir, no man in this Houſe knows better than you do, that our infant manufactures can only be ſupported againſt the eſtabliſhed ones of England by protecting duties. It may however be ſaid, thoſe neceſſary duties might be ſettled by the terms of the Union; but if ſo, we would only ſtand where we now are, and therefore it would be no advantage. I therefore, Sir, pronounce that no commercial benefit whatſoever can be given to Ireland. This Sir, I would not venture to aſſert, if I had not conſulted ſome of the moſt reſpectable merchants of the city of Dublin, whom, if neceſſary, I can produce at your bar.

Now, Sir, let us examine how a Legiſlative Union will tranquillize Ireland? Will the deſtruction of our own Parliament make the republicans of Ireland relinquiſh their principles, and become attached to the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain? Can any man conceive ſo wild an idea? Will it attach to the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain the catholics of Ireland, becauſe one of the objects of the Legiſlative Union, is to preclude ſome of their claims for ever? Is it agreeable to the loyal yeomanry of Ireland? The contrary is well known. Will then a Legiſlative Union, which cannot change the republican opinion, which cannot ſatisfy the catholic, and which is highly diſagreeable to many of the moſt loyal men in Ireland, tranquillize the kingdom?

Sir, let me take this matter in another point of view. Does this country owe its preſent ſafety to the abſentee lords and gentlemen of Ireland? The anſwer muſt be in the negative. To what then does it chiefly owe its ſafety? To the reſident gentlemen, who have raiſed and headed the yeomanry. If this meaſure takes place, you take away 100 of the principal reſident gentry, and 30 or 40 of the lords: and it will not reſt there; for the other nobility and men of fortune will alſo crowd to England, to be at the fountain of honour and preferment; vaſt ſums of money will neceſſarily be ſpent out of the kingdom. But this is trivial to the danger that follows, from the loſs of their perſonal influence and example.

But Sir, let me for a moment ſuppoſe that terms were in the firſt inſtance given, that were of pecuniary advantage; and alſo that a Union would not lower our natural ſtrength; where is the ſecurity, that the terms of that Union might not be altered at

another day? The moment we part with our own Legiſlature, the few perſons ſent to the Lords and Commons of England, even ſuppoſing them incorruptible, become ſo inſignificant in point of proportional numbers, that it is clear Ireland muſt remain at the mercy of the Britiſh members. We are told, however, of the generoſity of the Britiſh nation. Sir, if I were to confide Iriſh happineſs to any other than our own nation, it would be to Great Britain. But it is the nature of all nations to abuſe their power over another; and the honourable mover of the amendment has ſhewn us, from true and undoubted hiſtory, the uſe of power in England, when applied to Ireland, prior to the true date of Iriſh liberty in 1782.

Sir, I will not go into the abſtract reaſoning, of whether the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, have a right to bind poſterity as to a radical change of conſtitution. It is enough, if we feel this, that men delegated for eight years, have no right to vote away for ever the privileges of thoſe who ſent them, unleſs by their expreſs deſire. On this ſubject, I have no heſitation to ſay, that were I as fond of this Union, as it is odious to me, I ſhould think myſelf a villain, if I voted away the right of that borough, that ſent me to Parliament.

Sir, the noble Lord ſays, if it be the wiſh of the people and Parliament, that the meaſure ſhould be adopted, it ought to be acceded to. I do not deny it. But that ſenſe ſhould be fully aſcertained, without compulſion, or undue influence of any kind. Now Sir, ſo far as the voice of the people has been yet collected, it is decidedly againſt it; and nothing but force, actual or implied, with the aid of undue influence, can carry the meaſure againſt Iriſh independence. What ſignify declarations of conſulting Parliament and the people, when actions, the beſt of all teſtimonies, ſpeak coercion and undue influence? Sir, it is not even denied, that two gentlemen high in office, have been turned out, becauſe they choſe to expreſs a will of their own on this great occaſion. Is not this, Sir, in terrorem, to all who hold offices, from which they can be diſmiſſed? A moſt reſpectable right honourable Member, who has declared he will vote for this Union, has ſaid, that when he attended Parliament, which, except in one inſtance or two, had not been for many years, there were 116 placemen and penſioners in this Houſe; and, that ſince that time, a number of new places had been created. I will not ſay, Sir, what number of placemen and penſioners are now in Parliament; but be they few or many, theſe diſmiſſals tell them, in language not to be miſunderſtood, you muſt vote for a Union, or take the conſequences. Sir, I had a partiality for the preſent adminiſtration; but a conduct of this nature will turn that partiality into enmity. I tell the noble Lord, that if this meaſure be carried by ſuch means, againſt the public ſentiment, he is not uniting, but ſeparating the two countries.

I tell the noble Lord, that if Mr. Pitt had ſat down to plan a ſpeedy ſeparation, he could not have thought of a meaſure more likely to accompliſh it. I tell the noble Lord, that though I have hitherto been the warm friend of Engliſh connexion; I for one will meditate ſeparation, from the moment that a Legiſlative Union ſhall be carried by force; whether that force be direct or implied. Sir, there are men who argue, that Ireland could not exiſt without England: I hope, Sir, the ſiſter kingdom will have too much good ſenſe, ever to force us to the experiment. But, Sir, I know from the annals of hiſtory, that countries infinitely worſe circumſtanced, have been able to reſcue themſelves from tyranny. I need only mention the ſeven United Provinces and Switzerland. The firſt, though inſignificant in numbers and in wealth, were able to repel the vaſt reſources in men and money of their bigotted tyrant, Philip the 2d. The laſt, though alſo poor and weak in numbers, threw off the yoke of the rich and powerful houſe of Auſtria.

Sir, a right honourable Member, to whom I have before alluded, alſo pointed out former Parliaments of Ireland in a very degraded point of view; a pamphlet aſcribed to, and not denied by the Caſtle, preceded him in a ſimilar deſcription. Sir, I truſt there is a ſpirit in this Houſe to refute theſe charges. I truſt there is wiſdom enough in this Houſe, to feel the neceſſity of gaining the full confidence of the people, in order to repel the attacks of the Engliſh Miniſter. I rely, Sir, on even the ſelf-intereſt of this Houſe, to effectually reſiſt a meaſure, that leaves every thing that ought to be dear to man, at the will and pleaſure of a Legiſlature foreign to us, and over which we can have no controul.

Sir, I cannot ſit down without paying my tribute of veneration to your virtuous and manly conduct, in oppoſing this pernicious meaſure.

Mr. KNOX.—(Member for Philipſtown.) I am ſatisfied that in point of commerce, England has not any thing to give to this country, but was it otherwiſe, I would not deſcend to argue it, for I would not ſurrender the liberties of my country for the riches, for the wealth of the univerſe.

This has been called a queſtion of great importance, from its great magnitude and ſtill greater deformity, one would be naturally led to expect that it would have made its frightful entrance into this Houſe alone, and unmixt with other matter, but it has been managed otherwiſe, and has been inſidiouſly introduced into the ſpeech from the throne.

This accurſed meaſure has long been the favourite object of that Miniſter in England, whoſe wild ambition has already led to the deſtruction of Empires; and would now ſeek to annihilate

this Nation. In order to forward this wicked scheme, what has been the conduct of those who managed the affairs of government under his guidance and direction; what pains have not been taken to promote and keep alive among the people every distinction of party and religion, have not all differences of opinion whether in politics or religion been industriously fomented and encouraged, and every means taken to distract and divide the inhabitants of this land? Is it perfectly clear that zeal and diligence has been used to put down insurrection when it has appeared, and may not all this have been to take advantage of our intestine divisions and distractions, to forward a measure which at any other time dare not even have been hinted at? but I cannot suppose that my countrymen will be the dupes of so shallow an artifice: no, Irishmen of all descriptions shall agree to bury in one common grave all jealousies and differences, and be greatly unanimous to save their country. Would that to gain so desirable an end, I could yield the spot where I now stand to a *Grattan*, or a *Curran*, whose matchless eloquence might thrill this Senate House and shake it's domes; or that the cause itself could fascinate from the highest firmament a *Flood* to speak in its behalf, not only with the tongue of men but of angels!

I cannot find words to express the horror I feel at a proposition so extremely degrading and insulting, to entertain it even for a moment in my opinion is not free from some criminality. What, shall we deliberate, whether this kingdom shall cease to exist; whether this land shall be struck from the scale of nations; whether its very name is to be no more, but erased from the map of the world for ever? Shall it, I say be a question, whether we surrender to another separate country, and to another separate legislature, the lives, liberties, and properties of five millions of people who delegated us here to defend, but not destroy the Constitution? It is a proposition monstrous in the extreme, and should be considered merely to join our disgust and execration with that of the nation; then dash it from us, never to take it up again. Will any advocate for this detestable Union tell me we shall be represented with any effect in the Senate of the Empire; how could our few transported itinerant strolling members have any weight in the scale of British representation, the idea is preposterous and resembles the folly of the goat in the fable, who having lit on a bull's horn hoped he was not an inconvenience, when his presence had never been perceived;—will it be said that we are not annihilated but merged and become part of the British Empire? this is a distinction without a difference. Pour the entire of that sea which Providence designed to keep for ever distinct and separate these two independent kingdoms into the Great Pacific ocean, and what trace or track can you discern of the former, or how will it affect the ebbing or flowing of the latter?

Why, or for what reaſon ſhall we exterminate the ſtate, or tranſport it into another country? To be a great ſtate, ſays the Abbe Raynal, the ſeat and centre of power muſt be in the ſtate itſelf, nothing but the deſpotiſm of the Eaſt, can inure men to receive laws from rulers far remote, or from the Baſhaws by whom inviſible tyrants are repreſented, a general governor here without a Parliament to controul him, would be as dangerous a deſpot as any Turkiſh Baſhaw in the meridian of authority. Unfortunate countrymen, what a ſtate of wretchedneſs and ſlavery will be yours, how proſtrate, how fallen,

Night even in the zenith of her dark domain,
Is ſunſhine to the colour of your fate.

The native inhabitants of this country degraded like the human merchandize of Africa, to cultivate the ſoil at the will of foreign taſk-maſters, not as freemen but as ſlaves; the Iriſh and Indian negroes will then only be diſtinguiſhed by the colour of the ſkin.

But if from the country we turn to the metropolis, wherein we are now aſſembled, what awaits us there? In the city is left deſolation and her gates are ſmitten with deſtruction.

Induſtrious, enterpriſing, affluent citizens, as if by pantomimic touch reduced to ſudden beggary and ruin.

This capital which for magnitude and grandeur, ſurpaſſes any other in the univerſe with the ſame extent of empire, is no more! for the claſh of chariots and the torches blaze, the melancholy bird of night ſhall ſhriek and glow worm pale her inefectual lamp. Sir, it has been ſaid that ſtrong meaſures will be reſorted to; that threats and promiſes are held out, and that the former have already been reſorted to, but let me warn Miniſters to conſider, to pauſe before they proceed to paſs upon the country judgment of death, and execution thereon. There is not any power on earth, ſhort of the united force of the people, competent to deprive a nation of its conſtitution, its liberties, and its exiſtence; I am ſatisfied if this meaſure be purſued, one half of the inhabitants muſt be exterminated to enſlave the remainder, and whether death ſhall be won in the field or on the ſcaffold, among Iriſhmen the only emulation will be, who ſhall die; and the only regret that man can die but once, to ſerve his country; nor will our beauteous country-women feel leſs intereſt in the glorious cauſe, they will tell their gallant countrymen, that no chains but thoſe forged by them can be worn without diſhonour, and that vaſſalage to them alone can redound to their glory.

Sir, there is not within or without theſe walls any individual who more highly prizes the connexion between Great Britain and Ireland, may it be perpetual! The ſhamrock and the roſe, entwined together form a wreath round the royal brow, and periſh the hand that would tear them thence; but force them too

closely together or unnaturally conjoin them, and one or both will wither. But dearly as I value this connexion, I still estimate my country more, when the constitution of this country was assailed in the form of Irish propositions, that great man* who was chiefly instrumental in acquiring that constitution, when it and the Empire would be committed, nobly exclaimed, Perish the Empire, live the Constitution. If that connexion I so highly prize, and the existence of this nation must now be at issue, I say, Perish the connexion, live the nation. Could my feeble voice be heard, I would call upon Englishmen as they regard this connexion, I would implore them as they value their own liberties to resist this measure. I am satisfied the Minister means not only to annihilate Ireland, but to enslave Great Britain; any reform, or renovation of the British Constitution will be rendered then impracticable. This insulted, degraded, debased country will be made a barrack, a depôt from whence to draw the means of enslaving Great Britain, and no resource left to save either country but a revolution.

Let me however once more intreat, implore my countrymen to mutual forgiveness, to bury in eternal oblivion all jealousies and animosities. Then will the salvation of the country be at hand, though heaviness may endure for a night, joy will come with the morning; though clouds should lower and tempests roar; though a night of deep dark desolation may depress; yet the mornings dawn will rise upon our land, a great, free and independant nation.

Mr. Hans Hamilton (member for Co. Dublin) declared that no vote he had ever given, could afford him half the delight which that he should now give in support of the amendment must ever ensure; an Union was a measure he should ever firmly oppose within those walls with his vote, without them with his life, but he foresaw that the hour was at hand, that would prove this to be the most glorious day that Ireland had ever beheld, and that would enable the members to go forth to their constituents, and to assure them they were represented by an Irish Parliament that never would betray their independance.

Sir. J. Freke—in a short but animated speech, fraught with a spirited expression of his love for his country, and its established constitution.

Lord Castlereagh felt that he would not act with justice to himself and to his country if he did not state his reasons for favouring the measure of a Legislative Union with Great Britain. He had listened with patient attention to what had been advanced on the subject from the other side, and he must confess that from the mass of clamour which was dealt forth, he had

* *Mr. Grattan.*

been able to collect very little ſound reaſoning. He had heard imputations caſt againſt his ſide of the Houſe that might have been retorted, but for the interference of more refined manners.

His Lordſhip truſted, that no man would decide on a meaſure of ſuch importance as that in part before the Houſe, on private or perſonal motives, for if a deciſion were thus to be influenced, it would be the moſt unfortunate that could ever affect the country. What was the object of this meaſure but ſuch as every loyal man, who really loved his country, muſt feel the ſtrongeſt attachment to—by an incorporation of our Legiſlature with that of Great Britain, it would not only conſolidate the ſtrength and glory of the empire, but it would change our internal and local Government to a ſyſtem of ſtrength and calm ſecurity, inſtead of being a garriſon in the iſland—here was but a part of many and numerous advantages, which the ſtage of the buſineſs did not then render neceſſary to be entered into, and which would come more ſuitably at a future period. As to the argument of the Parliament's incompetence to entertain the queſtion, he did not expect to hear ſuch an argument from Conſtitutional Lawyers, or to hear advanced the poſition, that a Legiſlature was not at all times competent to do that for which it could only have been inſtituted—the adoption of the beſt means to promote the general happineſs and proſperity. After the melancholy ſtate to which this country had been reduced, his Majeſty's Miniſters would feel that they abdicated their duty to the empire, if they did not ſeriouſly conſider that ſtate, and adopt the beſt remedy for the evils which it comprized. It was the misfortune of this country to have in it no fixed principles on which the human mind could reſt—no one ſtandard to which the different prejudices of the country could be accommodated. What was the price of connexion at preſent with Great Britain? A military eſtabliſhment far beyond our natural means to ſupport, and for which we are indebted to Great Britain, who is alſo obliged to guarantee our public loans. It is not by flattery that the country could be ſaved—truths, however diſagreeable, muſt be told—and if Ireland did not boldly look her ſituation in the face and accept that Union which would ſtrengthen and ſecure her, ſhe would perhaps have no alternative but to ſink into the embrace of French fraternity. You talk, ſaid his Lordſhip, of national pride and independance, but where is the ſolidity of this boaſt? You have not the Britiſh Conſtitution—nor can you have it conſiſtently with your preſent ſpecies of connexion with Great Britain—that Conſtitution does not recognize two ſeparate and independent Legiſlatures under one Crown—the greater country muſt lead—the leſſer naturally follow, and muſt be practically ſubordinate in imperial concerns—but this neceſſary and beneficial operation of the general will muſt be preceded by eſtabliſhing one common intereſt.

As the pride of this country advances with her wealth, it may happen that you will not join Great Britain in her wars—it is only a common polity that will make that certain.—Incorporate with Great Britain, and you have a common interest and common means. If Great Britain calls for your subjection, resist it—but if she wishes to unite with you on terms of equality, 'tis madness not to accept the offer. Gentlemen have distinguished the case of Scotland from that of Ireland—but they are directly the same. The vicinity of Scotland to England was rather an unfavourable circumstance—for neighbour nations are most apt to quarrel.—What was the case of Scotland? She was connected like Ireland by a common Crown—but the game of jealousy was played—the same game which is played here. The Jacobites would have been glad the Crown had continued in that way—for it would have aided their views. 'Tis true, that after the Union the mischief partly continued for a time—and no doubt it would do so here too, because the minds of the people might for a time be disgusted, but the evil would gradually diminish, and the countries go on in growth of affection and resources. All questions have arguments on both sides—the least evil is to be chosen. To this measure he objected that Legislature won't be local—'tis for that reason the measure is adopted—for with a local Legislature, and the present division of your people, you can't go on. Other objections arise—but they all terminate in local prejudice, or pride, and all of them that have been started, discussed and refuted in the case of Scotland. Absentees another objection—they would be somewhat encreased, no doubt, but the evil would be compensated by other advantages, and among them by the growth of an intermediate class of men between the landlord and the peasant—a class of men whose loss is felt in Ireland, to train the mind of the lower class. These we would have from England. We would also have capital from thence.—And as to emigration, the difficulty and expence would counteract that evil. At all events, these inconveniences would be but a grain of sand compared with the advantages which would be derived by internal security, and by our growing together in habits of amity and affection.

He concluded by professing himself attached to the measure only by the love of his country, and his conviction that the interests of that country would be promoted permanently and effectually by an incorporation of the two Legislatures.

Col. GILBERT KING.—Conscious as I am that I possess neither ability, nor consequence to justify me for intruding myself on the House at this late hour, yet I hope that gentlemen will have the goodness to accept of the best apology in my power, that is the duty I owe my constituents, my country and myself. The magnitude of this important question, as to the expediency

of a Legiſlative Union between Great Britain and Ireland, induced me to appropriate much of my time towards the attainment of neceſſary information on the ſubject; and having mixed with the people of every deſcription in my neighbourhood, (the good diſpoſition of all whom I have had long experience of,) to learn their opinion on the ſubject, I am now prepared to give mine, which is, that a Union with Great Britain would prove detrimental to Ireland; I therefore give my vote for the amendment to the addreſs, and am determined to vote againſt the Union whenever it may be brought forward. The very enlightened and brilliant arguments I have heard on this ſide of the Houſe, convince me (had any doubt remained on my mind of the rectitude of my conduct.) I will trouble the Houſe no further at preſent, and once more aſk their forgiveneſs for this intruſion.

Mr. Plunket.—Sir, I ſhall make no apology for troubling you at this late hour, exhauſted though I am in mind and body, and ſuffering though you muſt be under a ſimilar preſſure; this is a ſubject which muſt arouſe the ſlumbering, and might almoſt reanimate the dead. It is a queſtion whether Ireland ſhall ceaſe to be free; it is a queſtion involving our deareſt intereſts and for ever. Sir, I congratulate this Houſe on the manly temper with which this meaſure has been diſcuſſed; I congratulate them on the victory which I already ſee they have obtained; a victory which I anticipate from the bold and generous ſentiments which have been expreſſed on this ſide of the Houſe, and which I ſee confirmed in the doleful and diſcomfited viſages of the miſerable groupe whom I ſee before me. Sir, I congratulate you on the candid avowal of the Noble Lord who has juſt ſat down, he has expoſed this project in its naked hideouſneſs and deformity; he has told us that the neceſſity of ſacrificing our independance, flows from the nature of our connexion; it is now avowed that this meaſure does not flow from any temporary cauſe, that it is not produced in conſequence of any late rebellion, or accidental diſturbance in the country, that its neceſſity does not ariſe from the danger of modern political innovations, or from recent attempts of wicked men to ſeparate this country from Great Britain; no, we are now informed by the Noble Lord, that the condition of our ſlavery is engrafted on the principle of our connexion, and that by the decrees of fate Ireland has been doomed a dependant colony from her cradle. I truſt that after this bareſaced avowal there can be little difference of opinion, I truſt that every honeſt man who regards the freedom of Ireland; or who regards the connexion with England, will by his vote on this night refute this unfounded and ſeditious doctrine; good God, Sir, have I borne arms to cruſh the wretches who propagated the falſe and wicked creed, "that Britiſh connexion was hoſtile to Iriſh free-

dom;" and am I now bound to combat it, coming from the lips of the noble Lord, who is at the head of our Administration?

But, Sir, in answer to the assertion of the noble Lord, I will quote the authority of the Duke of Portland in his speech from the throne at the end of the session of 1782, "that the two kingdoms are now one, indissolubly connected by unity of constitution and unity of interest, that the danger and security, the prosperity and calamity of the one must mutually affect the other—that they stand and fall together." I will quote the authority of the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland, who asserted and established the Constitution of our independant Parliament founded on that connexion, and the authority of the King, Lords and Commons of Great Britain, who adopted and confirmed it. With as little prospect of persuasion has the noble Lord cited to us the example of Scotland, and as little am I tempted to purchase, at the expence of two bloody rebellions, a state of poverty and vassallage, at which Ireland in her worst state, before she attained a free trade, or a free Constitution, would have spurned. But, Sir, the noble Lord does not seem to repose very implicit confidence in his own arguments, and he amuses you, by saying, that in adopting this Address you do not pledge yourselves to a support of the measure in any future stage. Be aware of this delusion. If you adopt this Address, you sacrifice your Constitution: you concede the principle, and any future enquiry can only be as to the terms: as to them you need entertain no solicitude; on the terms you can never disagree: give up your independance, and Great Britain will grant you whatever terms you desire: give her the key, and she will confide every thing to its protection. There are no advantages you can ask which she will not grant, exactly for the same reason that the unprincipled spendthrift will subscribe without reading it, the bond which he has no intention of ever discharging. I say therefore, that if you ever mean to make a stand for the liberties of Ireland, now, and now only, is the moment of doing it.

But, Sir, the freedom of discussion which has taken place on this side of the House has, it seems, given great offence to Gentlemen on the treasury bench; they are men of nice and punctilious honour, and they will not endure that any thing should be said which implies a reflection on their untainted and virgin integrity. They threatened to take down the words of an honourable Gentleman who spoke before me, because they conveyed an insinuation, and I promised them on that occasion, that if the fancy for taking down words continued, I would indulge them in it to the top of their bent. Sir, I am determined to keep my word with them, and I now will not insinuate, but I will directly assert, that base and wicked as is the object proposed, the means used to effect it have been more flagitious and abominable!—Do

you choose to take down my words? Do you dare me to the proof? Sir, I had been induced to think that we had at the head of the executive Government in this country, a plain honeſt ſoldier, unaccuſtomed to and diſdaining the intrigues of politics, and who, as an additional evidence of the directneſs and purity of his views, had choſen for his Secretary a ſimple and modeſt youth (*Puer ingenui vultus ingenuique pudoris*) whoſe inexperience was the voucher of his innocence: and yet I will be bold to ſay, that during the Vicetoyalty of this unſpotted veteran, and during the Adminiſtration of this unaſſuming Stripling—within theſe laſt ſix weeks—a ſyſtem of black corruption has been carried on within the walls of the Caſtle, which would diſgrace the annals of the worſt period of the hiſtory of either country. Do you chooſe to take down my words? I need call no witneſſes to your bar to prove them. I ſee two Right Honourable Gentlemen ſitting within your walls, who had long and faithfully ſerved the Crown, and who have been diſmiſſed, becauſe they dared to expreſs a ſentiment in favour of the freedom of their country. I ſee another Honourable Gentleman, who has been forced to reſign his place as Commiſſioner of the Revenue, becauſe he refuſed to co-operate in this dirty job of a dirty adminiſtration: do you dare to deny this? I ſay that at this moment the threat of diſmiſſal from office is ſuſpended over the heads of the Members who now ſit around me, in order to influence their votes on the queſtion of this night, involving every thing that can be ſacred or dear to man: do you deſire to take down my words? Utter the deſire, and I will prove the truth of them at your bar. Sir, I would warn you againſt the conſequences of carrying this meaſure by ſuch means as this; but that I ſee the neceſſary defeat of it in the honeſt and univerſal indignation which the adoption of ſuch means excites: I ſee the protection againſt the wickedneſs of the plan, in the imbecillity of its execution, and I congratulate my country, that when a deſign was formed againſt their liberties, the proſecution of it was entruſted to ſuch hands as it is now placed in. The example of the Prime Miniſter of England, imitable in its vices, may deceive the noble Lord. The Miniſter of England has his faults: he abandoned in his latter years the principle of Reform, by profeſſing which he had attained the early confidence of the people of England, and in the whole of his political conduct he has ſhewn himſelf haughty and intractable; but it muſt be admitted that he is endowed by nature with a towering and tranſcendant intellect, and that the vaſtneſs of his mortal reſources keeps pace with the magnificence and unboundedneſs of his projects. I thank God, that it is much more eaſy for him to tranſfer his apoſtaſy and his inſolence, than his comprehenſion and ſagacity; and I feel the ſafety of my country in the wretched feebleneſs of her enemy. I cannot fear that the Conſtitution which has been formed by the

wisdom of sages and cemented by the blood of patriots and of heroes, is to be smitten to its centre by such a green and limber twig as this. Sir, the Noble Lord has shewn much surprise that he should hear a doubt expressed concerning the competence of Parliament to do this act, I am sorry that I also must contribute to increase the surprise of the Noble Lord; if I mistake not, his surprise will be much augmented before this question shall be disposed of, he shall see and hear, what he has never before seen or heard, and be made acquainted with sentiments to which probably his heart has been a stranger. Sir, I in the most express terms deny the competency of Parliament to do this act, I warn you, do not dare to lay your hand on the constitution, I tell you that if circumstanced as you are; you pass this act it will be a mere nullity, and that no man in Ireland will be bound to obey it; I make the assertion deliberately; I repeat it, and I call on any man who hears me to take down my words, you have not been elected for this purpose, you are appointed to make laws and not legislatures; you are appointed to act under the constitution and not to alter it; you are appointed to exercise the functions of legislators and not to transfer them; and if you do so your act is a dissolution of the Government, you resolve society into its original elements and no man in the land is bound to obey you. Sir, I state doctrines which are not merely founded in the immutable laws of truth and reason, I state not merely the opinions of the ablest and wisest men who have written on the science of Government, but I state the practice of our constitution as settled at the æra of the revolution, and I state the doctrine under which the House of Hanover derives its title to the Throne. Has the King a right to transfer his crown? Is he competent to annex it to the crown of Spain or any other country? No; but he may abdicate it, and every man who knows the constitution knows the consequence, the right reverts to the next in succession; if they all abdicate, it reverts to the people. The man who questions this doctrine, in the same breath must arraign the Sovereign on the Throne as an usurper, are you competent to transfer your legislative rights to the French Council of Five Hundred? are you competent to transfer them to the British Parliament? I answer, no. If you transfer you abdicate, and the great original trust results to the people from whom it issued, yourselves you may extinguish; but Parliament you cannot extinguish; it is enthroned in the hearts of the people; it is enshrined in the sanctuary of the constitution; it is immortal as the island which it protects, as well might the frantic suicide hope, that the act which destroys his miserable body should extinguish his eternal soul; again I therefore warn you "do not dare to lay your hand on the constitution," it is above your powers. Sir, I do not say that Parliament and people by mutual consent and co-operation may not

change the form of their conſtitution, whenever ſuch a caſe ariſes it muſt be decided by its own merits, but ſuch is not this caſe; if government conſiders this a ſeaſon peculiarly fitted for experiments in conſtitution, they may call upon the people; I aſk are you ready to do ſo? Are you ready to abide the event of ſuch an appeal? What is it you muſt in that event ſubmit to the people? Not this particular project, for if you diſſolve the preſent form of government they become free to chooſe any other, you fling them to the fury of the tempeſt, you muſt call on them to unhouſe themſelves of the eſtabliſhed conſtitution and to faſhion to themſelves another. I aſk again, is this the time for an experiment of that nature? Thank God the people have manifeſted no ſuch wiſh, ſo far as they have ſpoken, their voice has been decidedly againſt this daring innovation, you know that no voice will be uttered in its favour, and you cannot be infatuated enough to take confidence from the ſilence which prevails in ſome parts of the kingdom, if you know how to appreciate that ſilence, it is more formidable than the moſt clamorous oppoſition, you may be rived and ſhivered by the lightning before you hear the peal of the thunder. But Sir, we are told that we ſhould diſcuſs this queſtion with calmneſs and compoſure, I am called on to ſurrender my birth-right and my honour, and I am told I ſhould be calm and ſhould be compoſed. National pride! independance of our country! theſe we are told by the Noble Lord, are vulgar topics fitted only for the meridian of a mob, but unworthy to be mentioned to ſuch an enlightened aſſembly as this; they are trinkets and gew gaws fit to catch the fancy of childiſh and unthinking people like you, Sir, or like your predeceſſor in that chair, but utterly unworthy the conſideration of this Houſe, or the matured underſtanding of the Noble Lord who condeſcends to inſtruct it. Gracious God! we ſee a Pery reaſcending from the tomb and raiſing his awful voice to warn us againſt the ſurrender of our freedom; and we ſee that the proud and virtuous feelings which warm the breaſt of that aged and venerable man, are only calculated to excite the contempt of this young philoſopher, who has been tranſplanted from the nurſery to the cabinet, to outrage the feelings and underſtanding of the country. But Sir, I will be ſchooled and I will endeavour to argue this queſtion as calmly and frigidly as I am deſired to do, and ſince we are told that this is a meaſure intended for our benefit, and that it is through mere kindneſs to us that all theſe extraordinary means have been reſorted to, I will beg to aſk, how are we to be benefited? Is it commercial benefit that we are to obtain? I will not detain the Houſe with a minute detail on this part of the ſubject; it has been fully diſcuſſed by able men, and it is well known that we are already poſſeſſed of every thing material which could be deſired in that reſpect; but I ſhall ſubmit ſome obvious conſidera-

tions.—I wave the conſideration, that under any Union of Legiſlatures, the conditions as to trade between the two countries muſt be either free ports which would be ruinous to Ireland, or equal duties which would be ruinous to Ireland, or the preſent duties made perpetual, which would be ruinous to Ireland, or that the duties muſt be left open to regulation from time to time by the united Parliment, which would leave us at the mercy of Great Britain.—I will wave the conſideration, that the Miniſter has not yet thought fit to tell us what we are to get, and what is ſtill ſtronger, that no man amongſt us has any definite idea of what we are to aſk, and I will content myſelf with aſking this queſtion,—is your commerce in ſuch a declining deſperate ſtate, that you are obliged to reſort to irrevocable meaſures in order to retract it? Or is it at the very moment when it is advancing with rapid proſperity beyond all example and above all hope? Is it I ſay at ſuch a time that you think it wiſe to bring your conſtitution to market, and offer it to ſale, in order to obtain advantages, the aid of which you do not require, and of the nature of which you have not any definite idea,—a word more, and I have done as to commerce: ſuppoſing that great advantages were to be obtained, and that they were ſpecified and ſtipulated for; what is your ſecurity that the ſtipulation will be obſerved? Is it the faith of treaties? What treaty more ſolemn than the final conſtitutional treaty between the two kingdoms in 1782, which you are now called on to violate? What treaty more ſolemn than your original compact with the people which you are now called on to violate? Is it not a mockery to ſay that the Parliament of Ireland is competent to annul itſelf, and to deſtroy the original compact with the people and the final compact of 1782, and that the Parliament of the empire will not be competent to annul any commercial regulation of the articles of Union? And here, Sir, I take leave of this part of the queſtion; indeed it is only juſtice to Government to acknowledge, that they do not much rely on the commercial benefits to be obtained by the Union, they have been rather held out in the way of innocent artifice to delude the people for their own good; but the real objects are different, though ſtill merely for the advantage of Ireland;—what are thoſe other objects? to prevent the recurrence of rebellion, and to put an end to domeſtic diſſenſions; give me leave to aſk, Sir, how was that rebellion excited? I will not enquire into its remote cauſes, I do not wiſh to revive unpleaſant recollections, or to ſay any thing which might be conſidered as invidious to the government of the Country—but how was it immediately excited? by the agency of a party of levellers actuated by French principles, inſtigated by French intrigues, and ſupported by the promiſe of French co-operation. This party, I heſitate not to ſay, was in itſelf contemptible—how did it become formidable? by operating on the wealthy, well informed,

and moral inhabitants of the north, and perſuading them that they had no Conſtitution, and by inſtilling palatable poiſons into the minds of the rabble of the ſouth, which were prepared to receive them by being in a ſtate of utter ignorance and wretchedneſs. How will an Union effect thoſe pre-diſponent cauſes? Will you conciliate the minds of the northern, by caricaturing all the defects of the Conſtitution and then extinguiſhing it, by draining his wealth to ſupply the contributions levied by an imperial Parliament, and by outraging all his religious and moral feelings by the means which you uſe to accompliſh this abominable project? and will you not by encouraging the drain of abſentees, and taking away the influence and example of reſident gentlemen, do every thing in your power to aggravate the poverty, and to ſublimate the ignorance and bigotry of the ſouth? Let me aſk again, how was that rebellion put down? by the zeal and loyalty of the gentlemen of Ireland, rallying round what?—a reed ſhaken by the winds; a wretched apology for a miniſter who neither knew how to give, or where to ſeek protection? No, but round the laws and Conſtitution, and independance of the Country,—What were the affections and motives which called us into action?—To protect our families, our properties, and our liberties. What were the antipathies by which we were excited?—Our abhorrence of French principles and French ambition. What was it to us that France was a republic? I rather rejoiced when I ſaw the ancient deſpotiſm of France pulled down. What was it to us that ſhe dethroned her monarch? I admired the virtues, and wept for the ſufferings of the man, but as a nation it affected us not. The reaſon I took up arms and am ready ſtill to bear them againſt France, is, becauſe ſhe intruded herſelf upon our domeſtic concerns, becauſe with the rights of man, and love of freedom on her tongue, I ſee that ſhe has the luſt of dominion in her heart; becauſe, wherever ſhe has placed her foot ſhe has erected her throne, and that to be her friend or her ally is to be her tributary and her ſlave.—Let me aſk, is the preſent conduct of the Britiſh miniſter fitted to augment or to transfer that antipathy? No, Sir, I will be bold to ſay, that licentious and impious France in all the unreſtrained exceſſes which anarchy and atheiſm have given birth to, has not committed a more inſidious act againſt her enemy than is now attempted by the profeſſed champion of the cauſe of civilized Europe againſt a friend and an ally in the hour of her calamity and diſtreſs, at a moment when our Country is filled with Britiſh troops, when the loyal men of Ireland are, fatigued and exhauſted by their efforts to ſubdue rebellion—efforts in which they had ſucceeded before thoſe troops arrived—whilſt our Habeas Corpus act is ſuſpended, whilſt trials by court martial are carrying on in many parts of the kingdom—whilſt the people, are taught to think that they have no right to meet or to deliber-

ate, and whilst the great body of them are so palsied by their fears, and worn down by their exertions, that even the vital question is scarcely able to rouse them from their lethargy—at the moment when we are distracted by domestic dissensions—dissensions artfully kept alive as the pretext for our present subjugation, and the instrument of our future thraldom.—Sir, I thank Administration for this measure—they are, without intending it, putting an end to our dissensions,—through this black cloud which they have collected over us, I see the light breaking in upon this unfortunate Country; they have composed our dissensions, not by fomenting the embers of a lingering and subdued rebellion—not by hallooing the Protestant against the Catholic and the Catholic against the Protestant—not by committing the North against the South—not by inconsistent appeals to local or to patty prejudices: No, but by the avowal of this atrocious conspiracy against the liberties of Ireland, they have subdued every petty feeling and subordinate distinction.—They have united every rank and description of men by the pressure of this grand and momentous subject, and I tell them, that they will see every honest and independant man in Ireland rally round her Constitution, and merge every other consideration in his opposition to this ungenerous and odious measure; for my own part, I will resist it to the last gasp of my existence and with the last drop of my blood, and when I feel the hour of my dissolution approaching, I will, like the father of Hannibal, take my children to the altar and swear them to eternal hostility against the invaders of their Country's freedom. Sir, I beg I may not be misunderstood, when I said that an ungenerous advantage was taken of the moment when British troops were in this country, I did not mean to impute the base motive to the British people or to the British soldier, in the contrary I am convinced in my conscience that they were sent here from the most friendly wish to protect this kingdom and that they came, and continue here with the same honourable and affectionate views; I respect the British soldier, I received him as a friend and an ally, as such I still respect and esteem him; and I feel assured that he never would raise his sword to stab the liberties of Ireland, when he knows that the life blood of England must issue through the wound. I acquit the people of Great Britain of all share in this base transaction, I am satisfied it would be rendered finally abortive by their wisdom and patriotism, even if we were wanting to ourselves, I consider it merely as the project of a desperate minister, who feels that he may be called to a severe account by his country at no very distant period, and would enable himself to say "true, I have deluded and impoverished you, but in return I have "subdued Ireland, there she lies fettered at your feet, use her "as you please." Sir, I shall not detain you by pursuing this question through the topics which it so abundantly offers, I should

be proud to think my name might be handed down to posterity in the same roll with such illustrious patriots, who have successfully refisted the enemies of their country; successfully I trust it will be, in its events I have my "exceeding great reward," I shall bear in my heart the gratifications of having done my duty, and in the hour of death I shall not be haunted by the reflection of having basely sold or meanly abandoned the liberties of my native land. Can every man who gives his vote on the other side this night lay his hand upon his heart and make the same declaration? I hope so; it will be well for his own peace, the indignation and abhorrence of his countrymen will not accompany him through life, and the curses of his children will not follow him to his grave.

Mr. C. Osborne supported the Union, on the firmest conviction of its propriety and necessity to preserve the connexion between both countries, and secure the tranquillity of Ireland.

Right Hon. George Ogle.—I shall be but short in this stage of the business. It has ever been, on all great and constitutional questions, an invariable maxim of mine, that a representative of the People, when he has really and unequivocally been made acquainted with the wishes and feelings of his Constituents, should obey them: I can have no doubt of the sentiments of my Constituents, and they shall be the guide and rule of my conduct. If ever I shall be so unfortunate as to differ with them in opinion on any great political subject, I know full well the duty I owe to them and to myself—I would resign that sacred trust they confided to me inviolate; I will never hold it to betray them: My governing principle in life has ever been to preserve and maintain our happy Constitution in Church and State, as founded at the glorious Revolution; and I will add the Protestant Ascendancy of Ireland, though I may be looked upon as one of the bigotted Sect who have fallen under the displeasure of some of the Gentlemen who have spoken in this debate. I should carefully have avoided touching upon that subject at all, had not Gentlemen set me the example: But why are we called Bigots? were we the aggressors? No, Sir, the attack was made upon us, and we have only acted on the defensive, in support of the Constitution handed down to us by our Ancestors.—I will not trespass further at this late hour; it would be impossible for me to throw any new light upon a subject so amply and so fully debated; I will vote for the amendment, as I execrate the principle of the Union; and if the spirit and virtue of the House should not now put a stop to its further progress, I will oppose it in every stage.

Mr. HARDY after ſome prefatory matter, obſerved that all which he had heard that night, only confirmed him in his original ſentiments as to the extraordinary buſineſs then in agitation. Had any doubts remained on his mind as to the impolicy of ſuch a meaſure as a Legiſlative Union between the two countries, the arguments adduced by thoſe gentlemen who were advocates for that meaſure muſt have entirely removed thoſe doubts, and more ſtrongly induced him to ſupport the Amendment of the Hon. Gentleman, (Mr. G. Ponſonby) on the floor. He apologiſed to the Houſe for riſing at that unſeaſonable hour (5 o'clock on Wedneſday morning) but ſo many gentlemen expreſſed ſuch anxiety to deliver their ſentiments againſt this meaſure, that he was happy in giving way to them, "No wonder," continued he "that thoſe gentlemen expreſſed their ſentiments not only with peculiar ability, but with a zeal, a fervour, and animation hitherto unexampled in this Houſe, and from which I augur the moſt beneficial conſequences." A learned and reſpectable gentleman, (Mr. C. Oſborne) had ſaid that the great obſtacles to the attainment of a Union, were local intereſts, and commercial jealouſies, forgetting at the ſame time that theſe local intereſts, and commercial jealouſies had ſo uniformly and fatally prevailed in that very Parliament, with which it is now propoſed to incorporate ourſelves, that the queſtion of a Union was in a great meaſure generated by them. They have not yet ſubſided, and in all probability never will, if Ireland therefore now indulged thoſe local jealouſies on her part, ſhe only copied the example of England, and it is no conſolatory proſpect to find on the outſet of this queſtion, the ſiſter kingdoms employed in mutual recriminations on this head. The learned gentleman has alſo ſaid, that he looked back with pride and ſatisfaction to the year 1782, but the principal ſource of his ſatisfaction in indulging ſuch a retroſpect is, it ſeems, derived from the power which Ireland then obtained, (being raiſed to a ſituation ſhe never enjoyed before) of negociating with more effect ſuch a treaty of Legiſlative Union as is now in the contemplation of Miniſters, that we are more enabled by that revolution to make better terms with England in caſe a Union ſhould be propoſed to us, than otherwiſe we ſhould have been. I confeſs this appears rather extraordinary to me, that independance, greater wealth, a higher rank among nations, muſt entitle this country, or any country, to treat on a broader and more permanent baſis, than poverty, and ſubjugation can ever aſpire to, can admit of no queſtion; but according to this explanation of the tranſactions of 1782, Ireland only roſe higher at that time, to be now more precipitant in her downfall, and the freedom, the pride, the dignity of that celebrated year, have only, it ſeems, facilitated, or were only meant to facilitate the thraldom of 1799.

The Noble Lord, (Castlereagh) who, if I know any thing of the temper of the House and the spirit now so alive amongst us, must totally fail in this business, (God forbid Mr. Speaker that he should succeed) has given it as his decided opinion, that nothing but a Legislative Union can effectually secure the connexion between the two Countries, or preserve the tranquillity of Ireland. If this is really the case, our situation is a most deplorable one, indeed; but I trust that the Noble Lord's opinion does not rest on the most secure foundation:—it, with regard to strengthening the connexion between the two Countries. I ask any thinking, impartial man, does he really imagine that if this projected Union was to take place to-morrow, it would give one additional soldier or sailor to the British empire? It would not; if attachment to England and British connexion, if loyalty cannot give soldiers or seamen, I believe it would be vain to look for them from a Union. But attachment to England and loyalty to his Majesty, at present supply both in abundance without this Union; and then come his Majesty's Ministers, with their plans and their projects, tormenting themselves and the Country with a proposed scheme of legislative incorporation, which, if any thing could, weaken our attachment or diminish our loyalty, would most speedily effectuate both, and this, they call, strengthening the connexion;—on what can any such connexion rest? On the removal of all national distinctions, and the improvement of our affections towards our English fellow subjects. What national distinction would this Union remove, or what affection would it augment? Are the name of Scot and Englishman convertible terms? Yet almost a century has elapsed since the Scotch Union; will it take a smaller or greater portion of time to merge the distinction between Englishman and Irishman? Have six centuries, with such a mixture of English blood in almost all our veins, made any progress towards it? But it is in vain asking such questions, a school boy might answer them, and yet statesmen seem to forget them. If, indeed, there had been on the part of the Irish Parliament, something like disloyalty to the Crown, or disinclination to participate in the burthens of the war, the advocates for this measure might put forth their favourite position—that the Parliament of Ireland had been found inadequate to every purpose of imperial concern, or to make use of the words of the Noble Lord, a Union is now necessary to strengthen the connexion between the two Countries. But, says the Noble Lord, it is also necessary to secure the internal tranquillity of Ireland. This is the opinion of the Noble Lord; but I have not heard him give any reason for his opinion, at least such a one as could convince me. But, if one great object of the Union is the internal peace of the Country, which cannot be obtained without it, that is, in other words, without disbanding the present Irish Parliament; then, it seems, we are

ourſelves the great enemies to this tranquillity; the Iriſh Parliament is the ſource of all diſorder, all diſturbance—Ireland cannot enjoy peace on account of its own legiſlators; thoſe very legiſlators, the majority of which his Majeſty's Miniſters in England, and the noble Lord along with them, have been in the habits of upholding, of panegyrizing on all occaſions whatever; Lord Cheſterfield ſays, that all large aſſemblies are mobs; but at this rate, a more dangerous and deſperate mob than the Iriſh Parliament never was collected together, for, 'till we are diſperſed, his Majeſty's Miniſters candidly confeſs, that they find themſelves utterly unable to preſerve the peace of the Country. Really, Sir, if the Members of both Houſes of Parliament, after ſo long looking up to the noble Lord for ſupport, and being ſo long humbly acquieſcent in his meaſures, are now to ſubmit to this, they may truly ſay to him, what was ſaid of Lord Macartney's Embaſſy to China, "We came to you as paupers, we have been "detained by you as priſoners, and we are now diſmiſſed by you "as vagabonds." An honourable Gentleman over the way ſays, that this Union is the moſt effectual mode of combating French principles; that is, in other words, the men of largeſt property who are particularly adverſe to thoſe principles, and moſt likely when acting rightly, to put them down, are to go away, and if the war is continued, their places in ſociety will be filled up by men of more humble fortunes, more active minds, and not only, not adverſe to, but intereſted in the adoption and extenſion of thoſe French principles. Is it then by an extinction of religious diſcord that this internal peace is to be had? It may certainly, but the Union will not be that extinguiſher. A Rt. Hon. Baronet (Sir John Blaquiere) aſks, if gentlemen will not try this experiment of a Union, what mode of reſtoring tranquillity will they recommend? The only anſwer which I can make to this queſtion is; put an end to the war, aſſiſt England to the utmoſt of your power in procuring the means of a ſpeedy, and honourable peace; there never can be internal tranquillity throughout this country, till there is no war; till the diſaffected in Ireland, by that event, ſee every proſpect of French aſſiſtance (for the preſent at leaſt) totally cloſed on them. This bleſſing may be attained without a Union, and if it was attained to-morrow with one, there is no meaſure, in my opinion, ſo likely to prevent its continuance.

The Union with Scotland has been mentioned at this ſide of the Houſe, and the Noble Lord has ſaid, and moſt truly too, that it was as much oppoſed as the Union here, but then, he adds, all the prophecies of thoſe who oppoſed the Scotch Union have totally failed. Here I beg leave to differ from him; in many, nay in moſt inſtances, theſe predictions have not failed, it was ſaid that the Scotch Peerage would lie at the mercy of the Engliſh Miniſter, the Scotch repreſentation, defective as it was then, would

become more ſo, Engliſh Councils would predominate more in Scotland than ever, and that if the articles of the Union were violated, Scotland would have no redreſs. All this was ſaid at the time of the Union; and all this has invariably proved true: that Scotland, has in general improved ſince that time, is equally ſo; it may be added that Ireland has alſo improved without a Union, but it is no fair reaſoning to attribute the improvement of Scotland excluſively to the Union. The affair of the Darien Company would alone prove what exertions Scotland was even then capable of making, and conſidering the Scotch character, which is acute, enterpriſing, induſtrious and national to the higheſt degree, there is no reaſon to imagine that whatever reſources Scotland had, would not in the courſe of a century have been ſo far drawn forth, as to put her in point of commercial conſequence at leaſt as far as ſhe is now; but there is no neceſſity for any ſuch ſpeculation as applied to Ireland, for every circumſtance with regard to the two countries is totally diſſimilar. Look at the map, and then conſider the capability of Ireland compared to Scotland, look at our conſtitution, it would be difficult to ſay what ſort of conſtitution Scotland had at the time of the Union: the two Houſes of Parliament ſitting in the ſame chamber, the Lords of Articles and ſo on. What is her preſent repreſentation, or from whence is it generally derived? The ſuperiorities, as they are called, in the counties, and the nomination in the Royal Burghs. But above all, the origin of the Scotch Union was totally different from that of Ireland, it was not brought forward to preſerve that internal tranquillity which her own Legiſlature was declared incapable of keeping; it was not brought forward in the midſt of terror and diſtraction to Scotland; commercial jealouſy was certainly rouſed in England by the Darien buſineſs, but the principal object of the Union was, as every one knows, the preſervation of the ſucceſſion to the Crown, and whatever mortifications Scotland ſuffered ſince, the origin of the Scotch Union never was, nor could be half ſo humiliating to Scotland, as this propoſed Union muſt be to us. Can any thing on earth be more humiliating? To ſay that this country, after enjoying a ſeparate Legiſlature, centuries upon centuries, and within theſe laſt hundred years riſing ſuperior to any thing it before experienced, ſhould on account of a rebellion, which, whether totally extinguiſhed or not, I do not know, but the frenzy of which did not laſt more than three months, which in point of extent was limited to five, or ſix counties at moſt; and in point of ſupport was not upheld by one member of either Houſes of Parliament that I ever heard of, and only countenanced by half a dozen perſons of real rank and fortune, if ſo many; that this country ſhould be ſo agitated by this rebellion, and ſo ſhaken from its propriety, that in a ſtate of helpleſs imbecillity, and wretched diſtruſt of one another and of Par-

liament, we should call out for a Union, and as a Legislature, declare ourselves incapable of removing any evil from our countrymen, or conferring any blessing on them, this, I say, is such a procedure, so mortifying, so insulting, so humiliating that I never read or heard of any thing like it whatever. The conduct of Denmark in the course of the last century, when to get rid of an aristocracy, it made the King absolute, is not half so unjustifiable as ours will be, if we adopt this Union, for we have a Constitution, capable, if properly dealt with, of removing any usurpation, but the people of Denmark had none.

The time, the very improper time of introducing this business has been frequently mentioned, and no satisfactory answer can be given on that point. The Minister, in fact, takes a most ungenerous advantage in now bringing forward this Union, the country is desolated in many places, panic-struck in all; he may plead the predominating necessity of the times, but it is a libel on the wisdom of Parliament, and the loyalty of the people co-operating with Parliament in putting down rebellion, to say that any such necessity exists, and I lay down this position, that there is no calamity to which the country has been, or can be subjected to, no error in our civil, or even religious polity, no defective representation in this House, or improper introduction to the other, the evils of which may not be removed by our own exertions, by simplicity and uprightness of dealing, by magnanimity enough to acknowledge past errors; and equal magnanimity to amend and correct them. I say, that this is certainly a most inauspicious period for introducing such a subject, but I equally declare, that any time whatever is improper for its discussion, provided Ireland is true to itself; if it is not, the Union may come on now as in some months hence, in this session of Parliament, as well as another.

But what is the character of this Parliament, that we are to be incorporated with? Is it better acquainted with Ireland than we are, or has the Minister himself never complained of it's formation, or at least that of the House of Commons? Certainly he has; but in latter days, he has opposed the times as improper for the discussion of any parliamentary reform. It was, according to him, pulling down a house in the season of a hurricane, and to prove his consistency, he now attempts to pull down both houses of the Irish Parliament, in the greatest hurricane that Ireland ever experienced. As to the British Parliament, it may be a wise, and dignified assembly; but I shall ever maintain, that, considering the relative circumstances of the two countries, the Irish Parliament is not so inferior in point of probity, or capacity, as to resign the management of its own concerns, and merge itself entirely in the superior and more numerous assembly. How long has England enjoyed almost the commerce of the world? How

long has Ireland enjoyed even a limited portion of it? Compare the wealth, the conſequence, the enlarged knowledge, the independance which ſuch a commerce brings in it's train, and diffuſes over every claſs of ſociety in England, and then aſk, whether the Engliſh Houſe of Commons, ſitting now, and for ages paſt in the ſunſhine of ſuch bleſſings, ought not to be in proportion more independant than the Iriſh, and if that is not the caſe, as it certainly is, if we are in proportion as independant as they are, why are gentlemen ſo ready, ſo obſequiouſly precipitant in abandoning their own Legiſlature? But, ſays an Honourable Gentleman on the floor, (and he has expatiated with much eloquence on this point) the Engliſh Parliament has none of our prejudices.—No, nor have we theirs.—They have none of our religious, and political animoſities, and the members of both Houſes in Ireland, are to be occaſionally and periodically ſent to England in order to get rid of theſe prejudices and animoſities. This is certainly a very original idea. I have read of two or three legiſlators, eminent men of antiquity, who went abroad for the advantage of their countrymen, but it is the firſt time I ever heard of a whole Legiſlature, and that too an old and eſtabliſhed one, being ſent acroſs the ſeas, in queſt of improvement. This is ſomething like Sir Wilful Witwoud in Congreve, who ſets out on his travels, when he is paſt fifty, in order, as he ſays, to learn the languages. I fancy, that the Legiſlature like the Baronet, would be infinitely leſs expoſed by ſtaying at home. But of all aſſemblies that ever exiſted, for the Engliſh Parliament to turn lecturer on prejudices and local intereſts, is ſurely the moſt ridiculous.—The noble Lord in the courſe of his ſpeech ſeemed angry at the denial of the competence of Parliament to diſcuſs this queſtion. For my own part I think it cannot, or at leaſt it cannot deſtroy itſelf. No ſuch power was ever given to us, nor could it be given, for if more than half the counties in Ireland petitioned in favour of an Union, I think, that this Houſe could not, conſiſtently with its ſtrict duty, attend to ſuch petitions. The people have no right to demand the abolition of their own independant Legiſlature, either totally, or in part. The Parliament may do much both as to electors, and elected, but it cannot at its own diſcretion, nor can the people by their bidding, force it to change the frame of the Legiſlature itſelf. This would be to adopt the principles of Mr. Paine exactly. For if the Legiſlature, in conſequence of any calamity, is to be the ſport of popular caprice, or occaſional averſion, what Legiſlature could poſſibly ſtand? Have the people a right to call on Parliament to make the King abſolute, or to make his crown elective, inſtead of hereditary, as the ſucceſſion is now regulated? They have juſt as much right to do ſo, as without any fault aſſigned, to change the hereditary no-

bility into elective. They form part of the Legislature equally with the Monarch. He may abdicate his trust, and be removed, as was the case of James II. the Commons may abdicate their trust, and be dissolved, but the Crown cannot, as the law now stands, be made elective, nor the Commons be annihilated. I am not to be told of what was done by Scotland. Every country must defend itself, and manage its own affairs as long as it can, and there are numberless instances in every history, of the more powerful nation obliging the weaker to acquiesce. It was the case with England and Scotland, but I never desire to be annihilated by precedent, according to all the forms of departed oppression. What would England say to this proposal? Would she yield the management of her concerns to any nation on earth? It is not to be expected from her, and yet she expects it from us. If gentlemen say that England is the superior nation, and that which may suit our situation is not to be expected from her, I say in answer to England, "Keep your superiority. We neither can, nor wish to deprive you of it; but use it properly. *Sic utere tuo, ut non alienum ledas.* If Ireland is the inferior nation, then its independance ought to be more respected, and more guarded against; for with such a powerful neighbour it is the only security we have. But admitting the right of the people to call for a Union; I ask who, except the corporation of Cork, has asked for it? Has Parliament, or either House of Parliament, or any body of men whatever? Just the reverse: The most respectable public bodies, with the city of Dublin, and the law at their head, have remonstrated most strongly against it. Then, it seems, his Majesty's ministers bring it forward, the cabinet of England, who know what is for our good better than ourselves, whose opinions, as in the case of Lord Fitzwilliam, outweighed the unanimous voice of the House of Commons, who never had any plan or system for the Government of Ireland, but consulted merely the exigence of the moment, and no more. In 1792 they supported the Protestants; at the latter end of that year, Dumourier's arms prevailed, and in the beginning of 1793, they favoured the Catholics. In 1795 they again abandoned them, and thus having gone through a variety of schemes, they come at last to the extremest bound of their policy, and they propose a Union. This, they think, is to close all differences. Suppose it does not, and I am certain it will not, what will they propose next? A dissolution of the Union, or dragooning, or what? Did not these ministers, or at least the major part of them, guarantee the final constitutional adjustment of 1782? One of them moved the Act of Renunciation in the English House of Commons. And what was that? An entire surrender of all claim to legislate for us on the part of the British parliament for ever. That the King, Lords and Commons of Ireland should

alone make laws to bind Ireland; not a word of the English or Scotch repreſentatives; but it ſeems they are now to legiſlate for us, or to co-operate with us in the proportion of five to one. In fact, we are to ſurrender our ſuperintending authority to them. We are, like King Lear, ſo bowed down with imbecillity, that we muſt get rid of the cares of government for ever. If ſuch a ſurrender is to be made, I can ſuppoſe our Parliament addreſſing theſe Britiſh repreſentatives in the words of Lear himſelf;

"We do inveſt you jointly with our power,
"Pre-eminence, and all the large effects
"That troop with majeſty. *Ourſelf by monthly courſe*
"*With reſervation of a hundred knights*,
"*By you to be ſuſtain'd*, ſhall our abode
"Make with you by due turns. Meantime
"We ſhall preſerve the name.
"The ſway, revenue, execution, reſt,
"Beloved friends, be your's. Which to confirm
"This coronet part betwixt you."

If we do part with this coronet, I am afraid that like Lear, there will be bitter compunction and repentance on our part, and perfidy and ingratitude on theirs. But, Sir, the treaty of 1782 was final and irrevocable, and always conſidered ſo. An adjuſtment merely commercial and no more, was alſo propoſed, but to this hour was not acted on; but the Act of Renunciation guaranteed our Independance and Conſtitution, and if thoſe miniſters now attempt to violate it, they will act towards this Country as the late King of Pruſſia acted towards Poland; for under his auſpices the people of that country formed an excellent Conſtitution, which would have ſecured to them happineſs and independance, and he was the firſt to betray them and deſtroy that Conſtitution. And are we to ſubmit to this? And is the repreſentative of the Engliſh Miniſter to ſit here, like the Ruſſian ambaſſador at Warſaw, telling us of our dependance, and by intimidation (for what elſe is meant by diſmiſſing two principal officers of the Crown) and by influence, forcing us to accept this Union,—and with fifty thouſand men at his back;—but let me do juſtice: they were brought here from neceſſity, and it is very generally ſaid, that ſeveral of that moſt reſpectable body, the Engliſh militia, expreſſed their private feelings on the ſubject, and declared they never would co-operate with the Miniſter in this buſineſs, if he was ſo unwiſe as to puſh it againſt our inclinations, which I cannot think he will. Such ſentiments do them honour,—they form the only true Union between Engliſhmen and Iriſhmen—they form the only permanent junction between us, not the falſe miniſterial heraldry of hands, not hearts. The noble Lord ſpeaks of terms; after all that Ireland has gained, what has England to give us

but honeſt affection? What bargain and ſale can be made with national independance? At any rate, in this ſtage of the buſineſs, and the preſent queſtion before us, any detail of terms would be idle, I hope it will never be entered into. That the Iriſh Parliament, which, ſince the acceſſion of his preſent Majeſty, has been uniformly thanked by our ſovereign for their wiſe and judicious conduct, ſhould now, on account of temporary calamity and no more, be called on to ſolicit its own diſſolution, relinquiſh its own privileges, diminiſh and diſband its own members, record its own imbecillity, acknowledge its inability to govern, and throw itſelf and the Country along with it on another Legiſlature, from the thraldom of which they had ſo lately emancipated themſelves, is a moſt unſeemly ſpectacle indeed; I ſee not the ſhadow of neceſſity for ſuch a propoſal, and therefore I heartily approve of the amendment.

Mr. CORRY obſerved that the manner in which gentlemen treated the motion, was very unbecoming the dignity of the Houſe. Were not gentlemen at all events bound in common ceremony and reſpect to conſider the Speech from the Throne? His Majeſty, from the unfortunate complexion of affairs in this country recommended it to his Parliament of Ireland, to take meaſures for conſolidating the connexion between both countries, while it is in danger of being diſſolved by the attempts of an invading enemy, and the machinations of domeſtic traitors.

The meaſure of an Union was propoſed for diſcuſſion only; and though he conſidered it the only means that could afford ſafety to Ireland, and ſecurity to the Empire, yet if it ſhould meet the diſapprobation of the Houſe, and of the people without doors, he had no heſitation to ſay, that it ought to be rejected. However, ſurely gentlemen would give it the diſcuſſion it deſerved, for a rejection *in limine* would be treating the ſpeech from the Throne with diſreſpect. He aſked the honourable and learned Member (Mr. Ponſonby) what meaned his amendment? He (Mr. C.) thought it merely introduced to mar the diſcuſſion. Was it not always the uſage of the Houſe to enquire firſt, and then reject, if neceſſary or proper? On the Roman Catholic queſtion, there was once much difference of opinion in that Houſe, and yet its merits were diſcuſſed, it appeared on the Journals that it met the diſcuſſion it deſerved. Gentlemen ſurely would not be pledged to one ſide or the other by enquiring what advantages it might offer. When gentlemen talked of their conſtituents, were they ſatisfied of their loyalty, or that they could aſcertain the merits or demerits of ſuch a charge? Inſtead of inſpiring the miſguided people of Ireland with fidelity and attachment to their King and Country, the language of ſome gentlemen ſeemed calculated to encreaſe their diſaffection.

Was it proper to aſſert that England gave us loans with jealouſy, while ſhe laviſhed money on Continental powers? The readineſs of England to promote the convenience, and relieve the exigencies of Ireland, was good policy; and her furniſhing the Emperor with money to maintain the war againſt an abandoned ferocious enemy, whoſe revolutionary ſtrides were overturning Europe. If Mr. Pitt ſupplied the Emperor with money, it was ſound policy, it became neceſſary to aſſiſt him with the ſinews of war, leſt his efforts ſhould be paralyſed, and thus no barrier or check be oppoſed to the fury of France. Unleſs the Britiſh Miniſter did ſo, the treaty of Campo Formio had not taken place, and probably the French had been ſucceſsful in their attempts to invade this country. An honourable Baronet had ſaid, no argument had been offered to ſhew the expediency of ſuch an incorporation; but whoever conſidered the manner in which the Government of this country was obliged to be adminiſtered, muſt wiſh that ſome more certain and diſtinct ſyſtem were reſorted to. The Britiſh cabinet, it was known, could controul the councils of Ireland; and thus, diſtraction and confuſion ſpoiled the operations and retarded the progreſs of ſtate affairs. Thus it appeared, that unity of councils was neceſſary; and, unleſs by an Union of the Legiſlatures, that deſirable object could not be obtained. Our ſeparate exiſtence was the cauſe of our ſeparate and claſhing intereſts. While our cabinets were divided by the Britiſh channel, our government muſt be fluctuating, and could not afford us the ſolid and ſteady bleſſings of the Engliſh conſtitution.

Thus it appeared, that to leave our diſtractions, and get real independence, our Councils muſt directly flow from the other ſide of the water. An honourable and learned gentleman had uſed an impetuoſity that was unbecoming the dignity of that Houſe; and the whole of his temper and manner of arguing had a tendency to degrade the high character of Parliament; he would put down gentlemen on his ſide of the Houſe for their youth, but he truſted their propriety of deportment, and ſoundneſs of argument, would ſhew them more worthy of attention than many of thoſe on the other ſide. The learned member ought to obſerve more temperance than to aſſert, that ſuch a meaſure, if paſſed, ought to be reſiſted; he had urged that the Union with Scotland was no precedent for an Union with Ireland, but his arguments made againſt himſelf. There were many unfavourable circumſtances attaching to Scotland, unpromiſing to ſuch an incorporation, which do not exiſt in Ireland; the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Scotland was not ſettled; the language was a good deal, and the laws very different from thoſe of England; the people were unaccommodating to each other, on account of frequent hoſtility; in ſhort, there were various features of diſcord and difference,

none of which attach to Ireland; our laws, our language, our manners, are nearly the ſame with thoſe of England. There is a great intermixture of blood and property, which cements the intereſts, and ſecures the affection of the Engliſh and Iriſh people. Mr. Corry, in ſeveral other obſervations, concluded with an earneſt entreaty to gentlemen, to conſider that they were not pledged to the meaſure by voting the Addreſs.

Mr. Cooke expreſſed, that warm as was the language of ſome gentlemen, he would not agree to record in the Journals an interdict to the diſcuſſion and conſideration of any Union whatever with Great Britain; on the other hand, he was ready to pledge himſelf never to ſupport any Union which did not meet the decided approbation of Parliament, and of the People. He aſked, if gentlemen were ready to declare that no plan, or terms of Union could be formed, to which they would accede? Or, did they chooſe that Ireland ſhould continue to be harraſſed by all thoſe evils that are produced by the ſtruggle for political power, and by thoſe religious animoſities, which have almoſt ruined the country? What ſecurity or comfort can we expect in Ireland, ſo long as we are hoſtile to one another, and ſo long as our paſſions and prejudices can be raiſed againſt one another? If a Union can be formed, which may remove thoſe evils, and reſtore ſecurity and tranquillity, it is a ſtrong meaſure to reject the diſcuſſion of it. This meaſure ought to be viewed in a broad ſcale, and not confined to the narrow or local policy of one town or county. It has been argued, that a Union will encourage France to invade us; hiſtory, however, proves that France has been always playing the game of ſeparating Ireland from England, by raiſing up religious and political animoſities: If, therefore, a Union ſhould have the effect of removing thoſe calamities, France would ceaſe to have the ſame encouragement to invade us. In the reign of Elizabeth, when Auſtria aimed at univerſal monarchy, Philip the Second conſtantly ſtruck at Queen Elizabeth in Ireland, by ſending agents here, and by landing deſultory expeditions in Kerry, at Kinſale, and at Donegal. When France became the enemy of England during the civil wars, ſhe employed the Pope to ſhake the Engliſh connexion here by ſending his Nuncio and an Italian army to ſeparate the two countries; an attempt which was defeated by the ſagacity and patriotiſm of the Duke of Ormond, who ſurrendered Dublin to the Parliament agents from England, rather than to the Italian Nuncio and to the Iriſh confederated with him. The ſame game was played by France, thro' King James II. at the head of a French army in 1690, and continued till the capitulation of Limerick. The ſame game was again attempted by Spaniſh troops in 1717, and defeated by the blockade of Cadiz and Ferrol. The ſame game was played in 1747, was

defeated by Lord Anſon and Hawke: Again attempts from Quiberon Bay in 1760, by 16,000 men, who were embarked in the ſquadron of Conflans, when Thurot was ſent to make a diverſion in the North; and it is in the recollection of every one of us, what have been the attempts of France againſt us theſe laſt three years; and I will venture to ſay, that ſo long as France ſhall expect aſſiſtance from our diviſions, and political jealouſies, ſo long will ſhe aim at wounding the Britiſh empire thro' Ireland. It is therefore the bias of my judgment, to allow to this queſtion a fair, ſober, and diſpaſſionate diſcuſſion. Much has been ſaid of the independance of Ireland; God forbid, that Ireland ſhould ever be otherwiſe than rationally and honourably independant! but to a certain degree Ireland muſt always depend on Great Britain, and Great Britain depend on Ireland; our connexion depends on each other. Independence is a phantom, if it is not underſtood; in the month of June we depended on Britiſh troops to protect us from rebellion, and for the arrival of thoſe troops what was our anxiety and impatience? We depend on the Britiſh navy to protect our commerce, and to ſecure us from invaſion. We have not the means of raiſing money for our ſupport, but guaranteed by England—Not a ſhip of war to protect us—England at this hour pays near a million a year to protect us. I do not wiſh to quarrel with terms; but in ſtating our independance, our ſituation ſhould be remembered. He would ſay nothing of the detail of this meaſure, but the conduct of Great Britain in the Scotch Union aſſured him, that the detail would be favourable to Ireland, and that revenue would not be the object of Great Britain: It was not ſo in the Union with Scotland, for forty years Great Britain never gained any thing from the exchequer of Scotland. The Scotch Union was brought about by the whigs of both kingdoms; and I truſt and hope, that every man who wiſhes well to whiggiſm, will conſent to the diſcuſſion of this important queſtion; which, in my judgment, would ſtrengthen our connexion with Great Britain, and eſſentially conſolidate the permanent intereſts of Ireland.

Mr. D. B. Daly.—I am not in the habit of taking up much of the time of the Houſe, and I am ſure I ſhall not begin to do ſo at this late hour. My conſtituents have given in their opinion, and they have given it boldly, like Iriſhmen, determined to hazard their lives and properties in defence of the independance of the Legiſlature of their country; they have adjourned their meeting to another day, in order to watch over the conduct of all their repreſentatives; they have ſpoken out, Sir, and I ſhall not give a ſilent vote. I coincide perfectly in every ſentiment of theirs. I know that I cannot ſay any thing to add weight to the

unanſwered, to the unanſwerable arguments of the gentlemen of this ſide of the Houſe; but, perhaps, I ſhall be able to ſay ſomething to the gentlemen oppoſite to me, that may have ſome effect. I remember a gentleman in the ſituation filled by the Noble Lord, who, on an occaſion like the preſent, was left with 39 devoted victims, whilſt almoſt all the property and talents of the Houſe walked out of that bar, in ſupport of their country. I hope ſome gentlemen, for whom I am intereſted, will take warning, and not appear again in the ſame ſituation. On a queſtion like the preſent, I believe it is fair to ſpeak of myſelf. Thoſe perſons, with whom I am in habits of intimacy, have heard me at all times, and on all occaſions, ſay that I conſidered there was no permanent happineſs for Ireland, no exiſtence for Great Britain, as a great or free country, unconnected with each other; feeling thus, can I vote for a meaſure which I am convinced leads to ſeparation? No, Sir, I have been between 20 and 30 years in Parliament—I call God to witneſs, that in that time I never gave a vote, which was not influenced ſolely by what I thought was beſt for my country; that I never will; and that I will venture my life and my property in defence of the Legiſlative Independance of Ireland.

Col. O'Donnell (*in a maiden ſpeech.*)—Mr. Speaker, This is the firſt time I ever attempted to raiſe my voice in any public aſſembly; nor ſhould I at preſent, did I not imagine that to give a ſilent vote on ſo momentous a queſtion, would be highly criminal. Had I not been determined to oppoſe ſo infamous a meaſure, previous to my coming down to this Houſe, the able and ſpirited arguments uſed this night by the oppoſers of a Legiſlative Union, would make me anxious to have my name enrolled with ſuch a band of patriots.—On that ſide I ſee oppoſing the meaſure, the landed intereſt, the talents, and the integrity of the nation: On this ſide, I behold it ſupported by placemen and penſioners; few only indeed excepted.—

There is no perſon in or out of this Houſe who can be more anxious for ſupporting the cloſeſt connection between England and Ireland than I have been, and ever ſhall.—I have fought to preſerve it from being interrupted by external and internal foes; but ſhould the Legiſlative Independance of Ireland be voted away by a Parliament, which is not competent thereto, I ſhall hold myſelf diſcharged from my allegiance (a cry of order, order;) I ſay, Mr. Speaker, the conſtitution will be violated.—I will join the people in preſerving their rights—I will oppoſe the rebels in rich cloaths with as much energy as I ever have done the rebels in rags.

Mr. Mahon.—I am not one of thoſe placemen or penſioners to whom the honourable gentleman (Col. O'Donnell) ſo liberally alludes. I love my country as truly as any one man on the other ſide of the Houſe, be that man who he may; and I do moſt ſolemnly declare, that no object of ſelf-intereſt does, or could influence my vote upon this occaſion. It is not the opinion of a day, Sir, but the beſt conſideration which for ſome years I could give to the ſubject now before you, that convinces me of the advantages both to Ireland and to Great Britain, of a Legiſlative Union between the two countries. It is my decided opinion that it is neceſſary; and were I to ſtand alone upon the queſtion, I would not allow clamour and prejudice to deprive me of the free exerciſe of that judgment which God has given me.

Mr. J. C. Beresford.—It was not my intention to have opened my lips this night; the many Gentlemen who have ſpoken before me on the ſubject, and who have handled it in ſo able a manner, render it unneceſſary for me to enlarge upon it; and my feeble aſſiſtance would only have tended to fritter away their eloquence; but an argument that has fallen from an Hon. Member on the oppoſite ſide of the Houſe, who has entreated us not to preſs the queſtion, but to give time for our conſtituents to declare their opinion of the matter, induces me to ſay a few words, as my ſentiments on that ſubject are perhaps a little peculiar, and I am anxious for an opportunity of declaring them. In my opinion a Member of Parliament is by no means bound to an implicit obedience to the inſtructions he receives from his conſtituents; for as ſoon as he is returned to Parliament by them, he ceaſes to be the Member for the individual ſeat for which he is returned, but becomes a Member for the Legiſlative Body of the Nation at large, in which capacity he is not to conſider the local intereſts of the nation; for was the repreſentative to recur in every inſtance to the conſtituent body, he would himſelf be but a cypher in the Parliament.

With thoſe ſentiments, I feel myſelf fully at liberty to act according to the feelings of my own breaſt in almoſt every queſtion that can occur in Parliament; but if there is any caſe that admits of exception, it is the preſent caſe, for the conſtituent body have a right to demand from their repreſentatives that legiſlative capacity which is only entruſted to him for a limited period, and if I felt in my breaſt an approbation of an Union in oppoſition to the inſtructions of my conſtituents, I ſhould ſurrender to them that truſt, which I ſhould think it baſe in me to alienate from them, I would declare my ſentiments, and reſign my ſeat. But it fortunately happens, that the opinion of my conſtituents on this occaſion perfectly coincide with my own, but had it occurred that they had intruſted me to ſupport the meaſure of a Union,

I ſhould have diſregarded thoſe inſtructions; for though they might chooſe to barter their rights for local conſiderations, they would have no right to pledge me, an independant Member of the Legiſlative Body, to vote away the rights of the Nation at large. The warm friend, and the zealous advocate in the cauſe of Britiſh connexion, I ſincerely lament that a queſtion ſhould be brought on ſo replete with deſtruction to that connexion. I have the higheſt perſonal regard for the Noble Lord, who in his official capacity as Secretary has brought forward this queſtion, ſo deſtructive and deteſted by the Iriſh Nation.—And I am ſincerely ſorry that he has been made the inſtrument to bring forward ſuch a propoſition. For the Miniſter of England I entertain the higheſt reſpect—I have been ever in the habits of ſupporting his adminiſtration, from an approbation of his conduct, and an admiration of his abilities; but no motives of perſonal regard, not even to my deareſt and neareſt connexions, could induce me to give a vote in Parliament, whereby I ſhould conceive myſelf acceſſary to the annihilation of the legiſlative independance of my country.

Mr. EDGWORTH—in a ſhort ſpeech delivered his ſentiments againſt the meaſure, and concluded with approving of the amendment.

Mr. EGAN—went very fully into the queſtion, which he argued with much ability, reprobating the meaſure, and concluded with giving his hearty ſupport to the amendment.

Mr. H. OSBORNE ſaid a few words in ſupport of the amendment.

Dr. A. BROWN—in a very neat and conciſe manner condemned the meaſure of an Union, and declared himſelf an enemy to it.

Mr. BALL.—The only apology I can offer for obtruding myſelf upon the attention of the Houſe at this hour of the debate is, that I feel a confident hope that this unconſtitutional and profligate meaſure will never again be propounded to the Iriſh Parliament; and I am unwilling to diſmiſs it from the Houſe for ever, without bearing my teſtimony againſt it.

It is not my intention now to enter into any detailed diſcuſſion of the ſubject, or to conſider the conſequences likely to reſult from this meaſure; if I was diſpoſed to do ſo, I ſhould find little difficulty in proving, that the evils ariſing from it are *certain*, *inevitable* and *immediate*; ſuch as muſt end, at no very remote period, in a total ſeparation from England; or what is worſe, in a regular plan of government, uniformly and ſyſtematically enforced againſt the will of the people by military coercion: I

ſhould find it eaſy to prove, that the advantages which are held out as likely to accrue from it, are not only remote and precarious, but that they are falſe, imaginary and deluſive: And that even if the meaſure were in itſelf a good one, the attempt to precipitate it at a time of general commotion and public alarm, muſt ſuggeſt a ſuſpicion to the nation of unfair dealing, and lay the foundation of incurable jealouſies hereafter.

But I purpoſely waive all ſuch topics of diſcuſſion; and I object to the meaſure on higher and more conſtitutional ground; the incompetence of Parliament to entertain it. My opinion is, that this Parliament emanating from the people, elected by them, and ſent into this Houſe for the purpoſe of guarding and defending the conſtitution, has no right to ſubvert it; has no right to overturn thoſe liberties, which they were appointed to defend, or to annihilate that power, from whence they derive their own. We ſit not here by virtue of any original or inherent privilege of our own: We are the temporary truſtees of delegated power: and any act of ours tending to defeat or betray the truſt repoſed in us, muſt be inconſiſtent with the nature of our authority, and cannot be warranted by it: therefore I do not heſitate to ſay, that if this Parliament ſhould be weak enough to paſs an act for the ſubverſion of the Conſtitution, the act would be a nullity, and not binding upon the nation. Though we ſhould vote away the Conſtitution, which we are appointed to maintain; though we ſhould pronounce ſentence of death upon thoſe liberties which have been entruſted to our care; yet that Conſtitution, being the pre-exiſting and paramount authority, being the energetic and vivifying principle of our own exiſtence, would ſurvive an impotent vote; thoſe liberties would ſtill continue to live; I hope they will live for ever.

Let it not be ſaid, that I am ſounding the trumpet of ſedition, or raiſing the people to reſiſtance; it is better to hold this language now, than after the miſchief is done, when no appeal lies but to the ſword, which God avert from this country! You cannot conceal from the people their own natural or conſtitutional rights; they know them already, they have ſpoken already: And in the opinion I have given, I am only reporting the ſentiments expreſſed by them in every county, in which they have aſſembled: I am echoing the voice of this very Parliament, when in the year 1782, they demanded a free Conſtitution, and declared, "that no power on earth was competent to bind Ireland, but a Parliament of its own."—I am ſpeaking the voice of the Britiſh Parliament, ratifying and confirming this demand of the Iriſh nation. I am ſpeaking the voice of the King himſelf, the common parent of both countries, proclaiming from the throne the compact between the two nations, and declaring that ſhould be inviolable and irrevocable.

If then this right of being governed only by our own laws, is not only congenial to the ſpirit of a free people, and eſſential to the exiſtence of liberty; but if it has been recognized and eſtabliſhed by a ſolemn compact between the two kingdoms; by what ſpecies of Logic can we arrogate to ourſelves the power of overthrowing it, without the clear, explicit and unequivocal aſſent of the people, whoſe right it is, derived from nature, and confirmed by the moſt ſolemn and authentic public acts.

Let it not be ſaid, that this right is ſtill retained by a Legiſlative Union, or that ſuch a Union would be an incorporation, and not a total annihilation of our legiſlative authority: It cannot be ſeriouſly contended, that any proportion of repreſentation, which we may expect to have in the Parliament of the united kingdoms, would be a feather in the ſcale, or be of the ſlighteſt poſſible uſe, in caſe of a competition of intereſts: On the contrary, I think we would be better without any repreſentation at all; as ſome of the calamities neceſſarily reſulting from the meaſure would be thereby mitigated: The number of abſentees would be leſs; that fatal drain of our wealth, and our reſources would be diminiſhed; and the power of the Britiſh Miniſter would not receive ſo alarming an acceſſion.

If then the proportion of one to ſix, which we are taught to expect would be of no avail to protect us from the jealouſies of the Engliſh merchant, or the rapacity of the Engliſh Miniſter; let us not deceive ourſelves by a name, but conſider the projected Union to be, what in fact it is, not an incorporation or participation of power, but an abſolute ſubjection to the will and uncontrouled dominion of a ſuperior. Suppoſe the abſtract propoſition once made to us to paſs an act, aboliſhing for ever the powers of Ireland to legiſlate for itſelf, and declaring that it ſhould be competent to the Parliament of Great Britain to make laws, binding this country in all caſes whatſoever; will any man contend, that a propoſition conceived in ſuch terms could be ſupported? Would it not outrage the feelings of every Iriſhman; and would any man deny, that it would be an infringement of the Conſtitution as ſettled in 1782; and for that reaſon, if no other exiſted, be an unwarrantable violation of the duty of Parliament, and a breach of the truſt repoſed in us by our conſtituents, who ſent us here to preſerve and guard that Conſtitution. And I challenge any gentleman on the other ſide, to ſhew in what reſpect a law, ſimilar to that which is now propoſed, would, in point of effect and operation, be more favourable to the liberties and intereſts of this country, than ſuch an one as I have ſuppoſed. Would we not thereby put it into the power of Great Britain to make ſuch laws, as might advance and promote her own intereſts, in prejudice of ours; and what ſecurity are we to have, that ſhe

would not do ſo? I do not heſitate to ſay, that I would conſider ſuch a ſtate, as we ſhould be thereby reduced to, as a ſtate utterly incompatible with civil liberty: as in fact that kind of connexion, which ſubſiſts between a victorious nation and a conquered province; and what in my mind amounts to downright unqualified ſlavery. It is ſuch a ſtate, as in my own individual capacity, I would rather loſe my life than ſubmit to; and why ſhould I feel leſs zeal for the rights of the community to which I belong, and which rights have been intruſted to me to defend, than I ſhould be of my own?

Much has been ſaid of the tranſcendant power of Parliament, and its omnipotence: I admit it to the utmoſt extent that any law writer ever contended; I admit that although periſhable itſelf, yet it has a right to enact perpetual laws, and thereby extend the influence of its authority beyond the limits of its duration: But ſtill I ſay, that the *correcting* power remains in the hands of the people; and if the Parliament ſhould paſs an unjuſt, a tyrannical, or an abſurd law; yet the ſucceeding Parliament, which is in fact a new emanation from the people, has full power to correct, to modify, or to repeal the act of its predeceſſor; and the blunders or errors of this new Parliament, may again be ſet right by its ſucceſſor.—So that the correcting power, the renovating principle ſtill remains; and the miſchief ariſing from the corruption, or the temporary fatuity of Parliament, ſtill admits of a conſtitutional and legal redreſs. Whereas if the preſent meaſure is carried, the evil (if it ſhould prove to be one) is without remedy; the unanimous voice of the whole Iriſh nation, and of all their repreſentatives in the new Parliament, would not be able to correct it; the miſchief would be perpetual and irremediable.

I find at this hour I am treſpaſſing too long on the attention of the Houſe; and ſhall conclude by ſaying, that I am not only ſpeaking the genuine opinion of an independant Member, but what is of more conſequence, the unanimous ſentiments of a numerous, reſpectable, and uninfluenced body of electors.

Mr. MARTIN ſaid he perfectly agreed to every part of the Addreſs, and diſſented to the Amendment which had been moved by an honourable and learned Gentleman. He begged of the Houſe not to betray themſelves, if they even doubted ultimately the propriety of adopting on any terms, or in any circumſtances, a legiſlative Union between the two countries;—he ſaid that if there was any man who had made up his mind to reject every poſſible propoſition tending to the meaſure in queſtion, even that perſon could not conſiſtently negative the amendment, and vote for the original queſtion—he ſaid a rejection of the propoſition, after ſuch a conſideration would be more reſpectful to the royal perſonage,

must be infinitely more impreſſive on the ſenſe of the country if the country attended as much as they ought to it.—But he ſaid he feared, and he did not chooſe to ſtate the reaſon he had for believing, that Parliament had ſurvived its character and worn out of faſhion.—For his part, he did not deſire to ſhrink from any reſponſibility attending the opinion he might hold. A Union upon fair and equitable terms to the country he believed was the only mean between an oppreſſive ariſtocracy, and the late democratic licentiouſneſs of the people.—He was ſorry he could not agree with any deſcription of gentlemen who oppoſed the Addreſs. Some he could not agree with, for they did not agree with themſelves, others he had uniformly differed from, but he differed moſt from them when they oppoſed thoſe meaſures of mercy, which were the firſt and propitious acts of his Excellency's government, acts to which we owe our preſent exiſtence as a nation, and which if they can add nothing to the full meaſure of his glory, did more to ſubdue the rebellion, than all your ſanguinary laws and all the permitted exceſſes of them which deluged our land in blood. That thoſe gentlemen who ſupported the worſt Parliament, and ſupported with moſt zeal, thoſe meaſures that were the worſt, it did not aſtoniſh him that they ſhould deſire to perpetuate unchanged that Parliament, which if it was not their honour to ſit in, conſtituted their beſt fortune.—There were however others he obſerved, whoſe inconſiſtency in this debate could not be ſo eaſily explained,—he meant thoſe men who declared that from the manner in which this Houſe of Commons was elected and more from their perſonal conduct members had ceaſed to be in any degree the Repreſentatives of the People,—and in fact that the Empire of China was as well repreſented in the Iriſh Parliament, as the people of Ireland could be themſelves repreſented by ſuch an aſſembly. That thoſe gentlemen ſeceded from ſuch an aſſembly he did not wonder at, nor did it meet ſo much of his diſapprobation as it did the ſtrongeſt reprobation of thoſe late allies with whom they ſeem now ſo ready to fraternize ſince their return from the wilderneſs of ſin, to which they fled where if they did not bear our ſins for our propitiation, I hope for their own ſakes they depoſited their own. On the whole ſir, I applaud this meaſure.—It has the approbation of my head and heart.

Mr. Holmes ſupported the original addreſs.

Lord Corry felt it his duty to deliver his decided diſapprobation of the meaſure as diſgraceful to the country, as well as pregnant with every poſſible miſchief to its conſtitution, commerce and manufactures—he would therefore oppoſe it in every Stage.

Lord Colt followed, and in a warm and ſpirited manner condemned the meaſure, and pledged himſelf to oppoſe it in every ſhape.

Mr. J. M. O'Donnel.—In the courſe of this night's debate the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe, have been profuſe indeed of their abuſe, not only againſt the ſpeeches of particular perſons in Parliament, but alſo againſt conduct of Parliament itſelf—to them they have attributed the preſent ſtate of this country. I truſt the noble Lord and the gentlemen on his ſide, may on ſome other occaſion remember their language this night—for my part, Mr. Speaker, if even the accuſation was true, I can ſee no reaſon why we ſhould ſurrender our freedom, by agreeing to the infamous, the wicked, the degrading meaſure of a legiſlative Union.—I believe the unfortunate mutiny in the fleet laſt year, is ſtrong in the recollection of every perſon in this Houſe.—It was admitted that it took its riſe from ſome inflammatory ſpeeches in the Britiſh Parliament; did it ever occur to the Britiſh Miniſter, on that account, to ſacrifice the legiſlative independance of England?—no, Sir, he thought it neceſſary, in order to appeaſe and quell that mutiny, which threatened with immediate deſtruction, the whole Britiſh Empire—to remove the Britiſh Parliament,—thoſe fiery orators—to Portſmouth, to the every ſcene of riot and commotion—and had not the mutiny been ſuppreſſed at the moment it was, the King and his Parliament would have removed to Portſmouth.

The Noble who acts as Miniſter to this country, has preſented this Houſe with a melancholy picture of this unhappy country—he tells us we cannot ſupport our military eſtabliſhment;—*that we have not the means of getting the money unleſs we go and* BEG *it from Great Britain.*—He tells us that "we have not the Britiſh conſtitution, nor can we have it"—I truſt, nay, I am confident the noble lord, influenced by a terrified immagination, has drawn a very falſe and unfounded ſtatement of our real ſituation.

If Great Britain has lent money to Ireland, it is on Iriſh ſecurity—it is on the principle of being paid intereſt, and ſure the noble lord will not ſeriouſly tell me, that this is *begging* from Great Britain, or that we ſhould on this account ſacrifice our legiſlative rights to England, who has lent ſo many millions to the Emperor and guaranteed the *punctual* payment both of principal and intereſt thereof—who has ſubſidized Pruſſia and Sardinia, and is now ſubſidizing the Turks. But, ſir, let me here, ſet this Houſe right in regard to a miſtatement made by a right hon. gentleman, as to the anſwer ſent by this Houſe, in the year 1782, to the Duke of Portland's meſſage.—I know the right honourable gentleman did not miſtate intentionally, he is incapable of having done ſo—but from your Journals it appears,

that what the right honourable gentleman read, as the anſwer of that Houſe, was propoſed and rejected,—and ſo very apropoſe is the anſwer of the Houſe, on that occaſion to the ſubject now before you, that I ſhall read it, and on ſo important an occaſion I aſk your attention; [here Mr. O'D. read the anſwer in full.] I am happy I have an opportunity of ſetting this anſwer from your Journals in its proper point—each word is declarative of a determination to continue a *free*, an *imperial* kingdom;—declarative of legiſlative independance, and their unalterable reſolution to continue ſo;—good God, why ſhould we be called on in 1799, to ſurrender that independance, which we ſo lately acquired, under which our commerce and agriculture have encreaſed;—has the noble lord, or the ſupporters of this infamous meaſure, adduced a ſingle reaſon or argument to induce us to ſuch an act of legiſlative ſuicide?

The noble lord indeed has ſaid, "you refuſe now from Great "Britain, that which you applied for, and were refuſed one "hundred years ago."

The noble lord has not told you, nor was it neceſſary, how greatly the ſituation of both countries have changed—we were then enſlaved by Britain, we had little or no commerce, we had no legiſlative independance, we were bound by Britiſh laws.

Britain unincumbered by debt, in the zenith of power and national greatneſs, holding Ireland in ſlavery and bondage, rejected *then* what was applied for and humbly aſked for by her poor dependant;—were Ireland now in the ſame ſituation ſhe then was, I ſhould vote for an Union, unleſs I ſaw ſhe poſſeſſed a ſpirit to aſſert her right. England then, with haughty and ſelf-intereſted arrogance, diſdained the petition of her poor ſiſter, no, ſaid ſhe, my commerce, my liberty, you ſhall only ſee and hear of, but ſhall never ſhare.—Now that England has grown old, ſinking under a debt of *five hundred millions*, and Ireland owing a debt of only fourteen millions, independant as ſhe, poſſeſſing commerce, wealth and agriculture, ſhe generouſly propoſes a Union, to rob us of every thing that ſhould be dear to a nation —but let me tell the noble lord, that we are not competent, that we have no power to vote away the rights of the people;—let me tell the Iriſh Miniſter, and he will do well to tell the Engliſh Miniſter, that if the Parliament of Ireland ſhould be mean enough to vote away the legiſlative independance of Ireland, the people would not be mean enough to ſubmit to it, they would aſſert their rights, die as freemen, rather than live as ſlaves.

A ſhort time ago I looked on the adminiſtration of this country to be exactly that, which every honeſt Iriſhman ſhould wiſh to have continued. At the head was placed a nobleman equally diſtinguiſhed for his public as his private virtues—humane—wiſe—generous and brave; that man who ſaved India—the Marquis

Cornwallis—Lord Lieutenant. A young nobleman, an *Iriſh-man*, poſſeſſing rank, property, and conſequence in the country, acting as the firſt Miniſter of Ireland; who was bound by every tie to be the ſupporter and defender of its rights. Yet, Mr. Speaker, it will ſcarcely be credited in future ages, that he has dared to propoſe, this night, to an Iriſh Parliament, a ſurrender of our independance; and that by inſidious attempts he has aimed a mortal ſtab at every thing dear and intereſting to the Parliament of Ireland, which no Engliſhman has ever yet been found baſe or daring enough to do. I call on the noble Lord in time, to conſider what he is about, and not ſuffer himſelf longer to be the tool of the Britiſh Miniſter. But we are told by gentlemen, that our commerce will be encreaſed, that we ſhall be a great and tranquil nation; I foreſee and I aſſert the very reverſe; once agree to this meaſure, and not only the kingdom, but the Britiſh empire is loſt; we ſhall become the eaſy prey to a powerful nation. But what poſſible ſecurity can Ireland have for her rights or commerce, once ſhe parts with the power of legiſlating for herſelf?—None—there will be none on earth. I deny that Conſtitution is an article to be bartered for; I deny the power of Parliament to barter or diſpoſe of it, on any terms; and I publicly aſſert, that ſhould we ever be baſe enough to do ſo, the people will have a right to oppoſe it;—for my part I will oppoſe it, here—there and every where; if my oppoſition to it in this Houſe ſhall not be ſucceſsful, I will oppoſe it in the field; it is no common queſtion; it is one which goes to the very exiſtence of my country. I have made up my mind on what my conduct ſhall be;—I ſhall either live free, or fall by Cut Six of ſome Heſſian ſabre, or ſome other foreign mercenary. While I have exiſtence I ſhall oppoſe it. On a ſubject of this nature, I did hope for ſome information from his Majeſty's Attorney-General, ſince *he* could be prevailed on to ſupport ſuch a meaſure; he has roſe in his place it is true, and has pulled out a little book from his pocket, the name of which he has not favoured us with, from it he has read ſomething of Edward I. and ſeveral other Kings, but I declare not one atom relative to the ſubject of debate, I ſtand in the judgment of the Houſe if he has adduced a ſingle reaſon or offered an argument why Ireland ſhould ſurrender her freedom; why ſhe ſhould at once ſacrifice the very name of nation and become a province of Great Britain: much has been ſaid and juſtly ſaid of the infamous conduct of the French Republic; no man diſapproves of it more than I do, the government of both theſe countries have often called on the people to view how under the pretence of friendſhip France had plundered Holland, Italy, the Netherlands and Switzerland, and deprived them of their freedom. What is the conduct of England, I will not ſay England but the *Engliſh Miniſter*, under the profeſſions of friendſhip and

great regard, he ſends us word, we muſt give up all idea of taking care of ourſelves, that we cannot know what is for our own benefit, and that to a Britiſh Parliament we muſt entruſt our lives, our properties and our trade: O! wiſe and generous Miniſter of England; O! proud and honourable Miniſter of Ireland, who can condeſcend to become his tool, and offer to your own country the poiſoned cup to drink out of! Is ſuch the affectionate ſiſterly conduct of England? *that* England for whom we were ready to ſacrifice every thing, but our liberty; is it thus ſhe repays our enthuſiaſtic attachment?—For ſhame, O Senate of Ireland, to ſuffer to be debated within theſe walls, a queſtion ſo degrading, ſo inſulting to your Conſtitution;—if there are any who doubt the inſpiration of that beautiful Poet and great King,—I mean King *David*—they muſt be now convinced thereof, for he ſurely foreſaw—I am confident he did at that diſtant period, what England would attempt in 1799, againſt the liberties of her friend and ſiſter, Ireland;—and he ſpeaks lamentations and upbraidings of Ireland in the moſt beautiful and moving language, on this occaſion, and at this hour, (½ paſt 7 in the morning) it will not be improper to read a few verſes from the Pſalms:

The 55th Pſalm, the 11th—12th—13th and 14th verſes, you may meet theſe words:

11th. "Wickedneſs is therein; deceit and guile go not out of their ſtreets."

12th. "For it is not my open enemy that hath done me this *diſhonour*, for then could I have borne it;

13th. "Neither was it mine adverſary that did magnify herſelf againſt me, for then peradventure I would have hid myſelf from him:

14th. "But it was even *thou*, my *companion*, *my guide*, *and my own familiar friend.*"

I aſk you Mr. Speaker, can there be a doubt, that David foreſaw this infamous, this deteſtable attempt now brought forward with all the craft and ſubtility which we are told the Devil poſſeſſes?—I truſt, Sir, the ſpirit, the determination ſhewn this night, will convince the Miniſter that, it will be as impoſſible as dangerous to attempt forcing from Iriſhmen their freedom and independance.

Hon. Major Acheson ſaid he would oppoſe the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union as derogatory from the dignity of Ireland, and would ſupport the Amendment.

Sir H. Cavendish oppoſed the amendment in a ſhort ſpeech,

Mr. Massey ſupported the original Addreſs, and oppoſed the Amendment.

Sir W. G. Newcomen not having been inſtructed by his conſtituents to oppoſe the meaſure of an Union, conſidered himſelf at liberty to vote for its diſcuſſion, not pledging himſelf however to any future ſupport of the queſtion:

Hon. James Butler oppoſed the Amendment.

Mr. Attorney General then went into hiſtory, to ſhew that this Country had formerly ſent members to the Engliſh Parliament; that a reſident Parliament was inefficient to obtain to this kingdom real Legiſlative freedom; and that circumſtanced as we are, in danger from foreign and internal foes, an incorporated Union with England was abſolutely neceſſary for our own ſecurity and that of the Empire. When in the year 1782 this country had obtained from England what was called an independant Legiſlature, did that produce the expected conſequences? Certainly not; ſuch a Legiſlature was found as inſufficient as the former—new claims were made at home, and we found ourſelves as much dependant on England as before. When ſuch claims could not be conceded, without deſtroying the Conſtitution itſelf, a formidable conſpiracy was made, that aimed at a ſeparation from Great Britain. The revolution in France gave this conſpiracy aliment—revolutionary doctrines were diſſeminated, and the public mind was poiſoned. In this melancholy ſtate of things, the Parliament was conſidered the *origo mali*, and the exiſting cauſe of all our national grievances. The members of that Houſe had loſt all confidence with the people, and their acts were conſidered the moſt tyrannical meaſures. It was ſurely matter of curioſity to obſerve even members of that Houſe, who ſeceded as it were in diſguſt; who pronounced the preſent Parliament incurable; who lamented to their conſtituents that they muſt decline their exertions—it was ſurely matter of curioſity to ſee ſome of the gentlemen return, and exclaim that the Conſtitution was ſurrendered to Great Britain, with that identical Parliament.

To England alone, Gentlemen ſhould now look for protection and force, and loſing all confidence with their own people, they ſhould join in undivided connexion with England. But gentlemen argued that ſuch an incorporation was degrading, and that Great Britain could not be truſted by us. Was it degrading to obtain a partnerſhip of ſafety and power with a nation to which Europe looked up as their protectreſs againſt the perfidy and fury of Revolutionary France? Had we reaſon to diſtruſt England, that gives us her armies and navy, that at preſent ſecures us with her militia? Gentlemen who ſo loudly deprecated the meaſure of an Union ſhould conſider, that Molyneux, that great friend to Ireland, approved of ſuch a meaſure: For he ſays in his famous book, that it was hardly to be expected from England. Gentle-

men who seemed to reprobate all who take a part in the present projected Union should reflect that the virtuous Lord Somers did not disdain to promote a Union with Scotland, by his writings and his personal exertions to forward it. Mr. Attorney General concluded by voting for the Address.

Col. BAGWELL delivered his sentiments against a Union.

Mr. RICHARD DAWSON gave his decided disapprobation to the measure of an Union, and would therefore support the amendments.

Mr. SAUNDERSON feeling his situation as an independant Irish country gentleman, thought himself bound to oppose every attempt on the free Constitution of his Country; he would therefore oppose the Union in every shape.

Mr. TRENCH, (Wood-lawn)—On a question so important as the present, I think it a duty incumbent on me to declare my sentiments. They are uninfluenced, I think, by passion or prejudice, and I am sure, they are unbiassed by interested or party motives.—Scarce allowed time to breathe after suppressing a cruel and unnatural rebellion, we are called upon to decide on a question of unparalleled magnitude in the annals of our Country—we are called on to decide on the principle of a legislative incorporating Union with Great Britain; any decision on this great point would be in my mind premature, till the wishes of the great body of the people are fully and sufficiently known, and without their consent either expressed or implied by their acquiescence, the Legislature ought not, they have no right to make a radical change in the Constitution. The people have not yet had time to make their sentiments known, some few counties have indeed instructed their representatives, but the northern counties are silent, the south and west are silent. The Presbyterians in the north, and the Roman Catholics in the south and west, a numerous and respectable part of the Community, have not yet declared their sentiments, they seem to hold back with a respectful deference till they understand the subject better.

Under these circumstances, I cannot approve of either the original Address or the Amendment; as the one tends to approve of the principle of a Union, and the other to preclude any discussion of the subject. I think it a duty we owe to ourselves, and to the high authority from whence it comes, to discuss the measure coolly and impartially; if after such a discussion we reject it, our rejection will be more dignified and more effectual, as it will appear to be the calm result of reason, and the deliberate voice of the nation—not the effusion of passion or prejudice. Though I cannot approve of either the original Address or the Amendment, I shall vote for the Amendment, as it appears to me the least evil

of the two, and that the principle may be brought forward again for diſcuſſion in ſome other form when the wiſhes of the people are better aſcertained if it ſhould appear agreeable to thoſe wiſhes.

Mr. Trench afterwards in the courſe of the debate declared that he was convinced he was miſtaken in thinking that by voting for the Amendment, the field was left more open for future diſcuſſion, that he now ſaw it went to prevent all diſcuſſion, and therefore ſhould vote for the original Addreſs. He was not aſhamed, he ſaid, to avow his error, and he thought it more honourable than to perſevere in it,

"Falſus honor juvat & mendax infamia terret
"Quem, niſi mendoſum & mendacem?"

Sir EDWARD O'BRIEN.—I will oppoſe the meaſure of a Union whenever it is propoſed, and I will vote for the Amendment.

Mr. S. MOORE ſupported the original Addreſs, and oppoſed the Amendment.

Mr. R. ARCHDALL ſaid, as the hour was ſo late, he ſhould not detain the Houſe by a ſpeech, though it had been his intention, if ſo many gentlemen had not preceded him, to have offered his reaſons at large for the opinion he ſupported on ſo momentous a queſtion, eſpecially as he differed, for the firſt time in his life and he hoped for the laſt, from a moſt reſpectable, and reſpected member (Sir John Parnell) who had indeed, on this occaſion, ceaſed to be a ſervant, but who could never ceaſe to be a friend to the Crown, and who, though he had loſt a public ſituation could never loſe the public eſteem. He ſaid he roſe in conſequence of what had been expreſſed by a worthy and honourable gentleman (Mr. Trench) who had ſpoke not long before him, and who ſeemed not quite decided in his ſentiments of oppoſition to the Addreſs as it ſtood; he ſaid he had obſerved another honourable, and ingenious gentleman (Mr. Edgworth) who had, with great candour and credit to himſelf, declared he had altered his ſentiments in the courſe of the debate, and from being once rather inclined for the Addreſs had now formed his judgment againſt it—he therefore thought the firſt gentleman, to whom he took the liberty to allude might perhaps on further conſideration alter his ſentiments in the ſame manner, and inſtead of continuing in oppoſition to the Addreſs, might give it his ſupport. He ſaid he was the more induced to think this might be poſſible, from what had been ſtated in debate by the Noble Lord on the treaſury bench, who had declared that gentlemen were at this time not pledging themſelves to any thing farther than a conſideration of the queſtion. He aſked what was it? The common father of all his people had graciouſly condeſcended to recommend to this part of his

Mr. THOMAS TOWNSHEND roſe in reply to Mr. Serjeant Stanley and to Mr. William Smith. He obſerved, that admoniſhed by the hour, he would not preſs on the exhauſted patience of the Houſe, and would therefore lay down his original intention of going fully into the queſtion. The learned Serjeant on the other ſide of the Houſe had thought proper to oppoſe to the arguments of his honourable friends on the floor, the opinion of Mr. Juſtice Blackſtone, on the competence of Parliament to vote away their liberties. But thoſe arguments were impugnable and continued to ſtand in undiminiſhed force; for the learned Serjeant, with the volume in his hand, did not condeſcend to point out where it was maintained by Blackſtone, that the Parliament was competent to ſubvert the fundamental principles of the conſtitution, to abridge the right of popular repreſentation, and to tranſfer the legiſlature of the country into another kingdom. The argument of the learned and honourable gentleman near him bore as little application to the queſtion in debate. To aſſert that if Parliament be incompetent, the Act of Union between Scotland and England was a nullity, is to ſay nothing bearing on the ſubject; for if the precedent of a conſtitutional queſtion in one country, be drawn into example as a rule for another, it ſhould be firſt made to appear, that both thoſe conſtitutions were conſtructed on the ſame fundamental principles which he has not done, and which if he had undertaken he could not have done. The Scottiſh conſtitution before the Union, and the conſtitution of Ireland now, are utterly diſſimilar in principle and practice. He could not help congratulating the Houſe, that on this queſtion which involved the birthright of the Iriſh people, their civil liberty, they had preferred a courageous wiſdom to the reptile policy of embracing an unendowed and barren ſervitude. He would oppoſe the Union which was projected by every poſſible means. It was fatal to the liberties of Ireland. As a Conſtitutional queſtion it was utterly untenable, as a matter of Policy it was ruinous to the peace, honour, freedom and real intereſts of this kingdom as well as of Great Britain.

Sir L. PARSONS ſaid, that at that late hour he did not riſe to ſpeak to the queſtion at large. The ſentiment of the nation was now ſo decidedly evinced, by the ſenſe of the independant gentlemen in the Houſe againſt a Union, that he hoped the Miniſter would never give him an opportunity of ſpeaking to the ſubject again, but would abandon it. If however he ſhould further perſevere, Sir L. would take the earlieſt opportunity of ſpeaking his ſentiments fully, and ſhould now content himſelf with declaring his decided diſapprobation of it.

Mr. L. Morres oppoſed the amendment, as did

Mr. H. D. Grady.

The Hon. G. Knox ſaid, that he ſhould reſerve himſelf for a full diſcuſſion of the important queſtion in agitation, until it came more directly before the Houſe. At preſent he merely roſe to ſtate, that nothing which he had heard that night, had produced the ſlighteſt alteration in the ſentiments which he, in common with his conſtituents (the College) was known to entertain upon the ſubject; and that by voting, as he ſhould do on that day, for a Parliamentary Declaration in favour of our preſent Conſtitution, the value of which he had been contemplating with the aid of experience for ſixteen years, he could not juſtly be charged with what had been called in the debate an act of precipitation.

Mr. G. Ponsonby in reply ſaid, that the principal arguments (if indeed they could be called ſuch) advanced for the other ſide of the Houſe, were drawn from the ſtate of Scotland previous to the Union, and from the Parliament of that kingdom having ſet a precedent of competency to enact an Union. Without, however, admitting this competency, he would briefly ſhew that no two Parliaments could be more diſſimilar than that of Scotland at that day, and the Parliament of Ireland at this; and that the Scottiſh people had little or no intereſt in upholding a Legiſlature, conſiſting ſcarcely of any conſtituent part, and wherein the Crown was all—the people nothing. The two orders of Parliament were compoſed of Barons and Burghers, who ſat in one chamber, and gave their votes in common on a queſtion. The Crown had a right to create the Barons at pleaſure, and thus at any time could overpower the ſenſe of the Burghers. There were beſides Lords of Articles, who had a negative on meaſures before they were publicly propoſed. Who would then ſay, that the people had any intereſt in a Conſtitution, wherein they were not repreſented, and only compoſed of the King and a turbulent or corrupt Ariſtocracy—or who could poſſibly bear out a compariſon between a country in ſuch a ſtate, and this? where he truſted the votes on this night, as on a former occaſion, would ſhew that the people were repreſented by men who would not ſuffer their rights to be betrayed. It was ſaid that the city of Cork favoured the meaſure of an Union. It was poſſible that a Corporation might have expreſſed ſuch an inclination, for it was too well known how Corporate bodies might be worked upon againſt their own intereſt; but he felt aſſured that the city of Cork, compriſing in that term its wealth, reſpectability, and population, was incapable of yielding up the honour, independance, and general intereſts of Ireland,

for the conſideration of any partial advantages; and would never emulate Bœotian ſtupidity and Bœotian perfidy. Mr. Ponſonby then ſhortly refuted the other flimſy and fallacious arguments which had been urged againſt the liberties of the Iriſh nation, and conjured gentlemen not to be calculating on the probable effect of their vote, but for every man to act as if engaged in a battle, where the victory depended on his ſingle arm; and ever holding in remembrance, that conqueſt does not always depend on numbers; a ſmall and virtuous band of Spartans having ſaved the liberties of Greece, and a gallant officer (Member for Limerick) ſtopped the progreſs of an invader in their own country, with his ſmall, but brave band of 200 men;—and he concluded by declaring, that never in the courſe of his life did he feel ſuch delightful ſentiments as at that moment, when he contemplated the virtue and ſpirit—the proud integrity diſplayed by the gentlemen with whom he had the honour, he truſted, of cloſing in honeſt Victory an honeſt Conteſt. He omened great and ſolid, and permanent advantages and bleſſings to the country, from the ſcene which that day and the preceding night had been diſplayed in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons—not the "Permanent Arrangements" glanced at in the ſpeech from the Throne, but ſuch as would, in ſecuring the Honour and Independance of Ireland, contribute moſt effectually to the Strength and Glory of the Empire.

The Houſe divided,

Ayes,	105
Noes,	106
Majority,	1

Tellers for the Ayes, Sir Laurence Parſons and George Ponſonby.

Tellers for the Noes, Lord Tyrone and Col. Uniacke Fitzgerald.

political family, to conſider by what means the intereſts and ſafety of all might be moſt permanently improved; and what was the meaning of the Amendment? That we would not enter into any conſideration of the ſubject. He aſked, did this look like duty, or like decorum? Would it ſatisfy Parliament? But ſtill more could it ſatisfy the people? For what—would not even the people ſay on ſuch an occaſion? Would they not ſay, here is a Houſe of Commons who are thinking of themſelves and call it thinking of us; here are repreſentatives who will not even examine what, perhaps, may prove for our advantage if they but ſuſpect it may not be for their own? He ſaid, if this was to be a method of gaining popularity, it would be a popularity without thanks. Another reaſon, he ſaid, for not agreeing to the Amendment was, that it would preclude all further parliamentary information on the ſubject, as gentlemen by ſtopping in this manner the queſtion in ſo early a ſtage of it, would preclude themſelves from receiving the beſt, and moſt intereſting information they could receive on it, he meant the information of a gentleman, who could not at preſent *ſpeak*, becauſe he was the Speaker. In ſhort, on every principle of duty towards his Majeſty, of giving ſatisfaction to the people, and allowing better information for themſelves, he entreated the Houſe not to refuſe their conſideration of the queſtion, and ſaid that for his own part when the day for calling the Houſe, announced by the Noble Lord near him, (Tyrone) ſhould arrive, he would not be afraid to meet the propoſition, and to conſider it, and diſpoſe of it, as it might deſerve.

Mr. W. B. PONSONBY had no heſitation in declaring the very propoſal of Union an attack on the Conſtitution of Ireland, that argued unpardonable temerity; he would therefore oppoſe it in every form.

Mr. ARTHUR MOORE. Sir, I had many hours ſince made the determination, not to treſpaſs upon the attention of the Houſe this night, from the fulleſt conviction that I could not contribute to the powerful effect of thoſe impreſſions, which the incomparable ſpeech of my honourable and learned friend in opening the debate, and the great ability with which he was followed by ſo many honourable gentlemen, muſt have already made upon the judgment and feeling of the Houſe. But, Sir, I am induced to riſe, leſt it ſhould be conceived that I, who am in the habit of ſometimes addreſſing the Houſe, ſhould by giving a ſilent vote on this important morning, (10 o'clock) appear temporiſing or lukewarm in that cauſe, in which I am as willing to periſh as to ſpeak; and leſt I ſhould be precluded from my humble ſhare in the glory of that triumph which we are juſt going to achieve, in defence of the Conſtitution of our country over its mortal and inveterate enemies,—I muſt at the ſame time, Sir, confeſs, that

I am impelled by a motive of ſtill more perſonal feeling, when I ſee the deareſt intereſts of a great and independant county (Queen's), of which I am an elector, abandoned before my face; when I perceive the repreſentative of that county, in which, though I have myſelf but a very inconſiderable property, I have many reſpectable connexions, and for which my regards are affectionate and hereditary, almoſt if not altogether the only perſon in this Houſe, who, upon this momentous queſtion has diſobeyed the inſtructions of his conſtituents; I cannot refrain from availing myſelf of the opportunity, which the indulgence of the Houſe gives me, of telling the honourable gentleman, (I beg pardon of the honourable Colonel) he is going to do that, which he has no right to do; and that if he ſhall vote againſt this Amendment, he is a faithleſs truſtee of thoſe rights and of that confidence to which perhaps his beſt claim was an implicit reliance on his perſonal honour and political integrity. But the Hon. gentleman (I beg pardon again of the Hon. Colonel) is not only determined to vote, but has ventured to ſpeak in favour of this ruinous project and of his own principles of action, and the Hon. Gentleman (I beg pardon again of the Hon. Colonel) aſks with a voice of triumph inſpired I preſume by the authority of his new Command, how will Gentlemen quiet the country? How will they put an end to the diſſenſions by which it is torn, but by the meaſure recommended from the Throne? I will tell the Hon. Gentleman (I again beg pardon of the Hon. Colonel) I run into thoſe miſtakes from want of uſe as I underſtand the Hon. Colonel's Commiſſion is no older than yeſterday, I will tell the Hon. Colonel how the country may be quieted and how it is poſſible to put an end to her diſſenſions, and that too by the moſt conſtitutional means; by independant men ſuch as the Hon. Colonel, not preſuming, when the Conſtitution is at ſtake, to diſobey the inſtructions of their conſtituents, by ſuch men as the Hon. Colonel holding themſelves above the allurements of office or promotion, when honeſt and virtuous men are removed for daring to adviſe and to act for the public good, and when it may be diſgraceful and degrading both in point of the time and the conditions, to accept of any favour from thoſe in power. If the repreſentatives of the people of Ireland will act that part, the Hon. Colonel will then ſee that he is groſsly in error when he calls the Independance of Ireland a phantom. But the Hon. Colonel has ſpoken of his great exertions, of the many ſleepleſs nights and active days he has paſſed during the rebellion in diſcharge of his duty as a ſoldier. I acknowledge the Hon. Colonel's claims to praiſe on this account, but then his gallantry and ſpirit are very inconſiſtent with the ſentiments he avows of the neceſſity of ſurrendering the Conſtitution in order to preſerve the country, and I am ſtrongly impreſſed with a conviction that the neceſſity for the extraor-

dinary activity in repreſſing the late rebelliòn in which the Hon. Colonel and every other gentleman of his deſcription, ſo juſtly pride themſelves is one of the ſtrongeſt reaſons againſt the meaſure now propoſed, becauſe I conceive that if the Union were to take place, its firſt effect would be to withdraw from the country thoſe very perſons whoſe rank and exertions had contributed ſo eſſentially to her ſafety, and who would again, I doubt not, make our main ſecurity, in caſe through any miſmanagement of the preſent conjuncture the country ſhould again relapſe into the calamities and horrors of civil war, but we who oppoſe this wicked meaſure are accuſed of holding opinions of a dangerous and inflammatory nature, when we aſſert the incompetence of Parliament to put an end to its own exiſtence, and to diſſolve the ſocial compact which according to our ſyſtem is the Conſtitution itſelf, —for my part I ſhall ever adhere to the opinions which have been delivered on that ſubject in the courſe of the debate by ſo many gentlemen who are ſo great an ornament to the profeſſion, to which I have the honour to belong, and if I could reaſſert the principle in ſtronger language than that which they have uſed, I ſhould do ſo. I maintain that though Parliament may aſſume the *power*, it has not the *right* to change or alter, much leſs to abrogate altogether the Conſtitution of this land, of which they are only the delegated functionaries, and not the excluſive owners, and I maintain, that if by the violent exerciſe of the *abſtract power* of Parliament to do that which its *moral competence* is inſufficient to do, the meaſure of a Union ſhould be carried againſt the ſenſe of the people, that in ſuch a caſe the laws of the incorporated legiſlature would not bind this iſland, and that then "the queſtion of reſiſtance (to uſe the words of Mr. Fox) would no longer be a queſtion of morality but of prudence, and Sir, if theſe be ſtrong doctrines, who has forced them from me? thoſe who have made this atrocious attack upon the independant Parliament of this land which I am ſworn to defend as part of the exiſting Conſtitution, in which no man is altogether *ſui juris*, but a truſtee for the rights of others whoſe boaſt and birthright it is. I would put this caſe; and it has not been put yet, though there have been enough of hypotheſes upon this wild project of deſtroying our excellent practical eſtabliſhment.

Suppoſe it were propoſed to reduce the number of Members in either Houſe of Parliament; for inſtance, ſuppoſe it to be propoſed to reduce the number of Members in this Houſe to one hundred, would any man hear it without indignation? Would the nation be bound to ſubmit to it, in caſe the Parliament could be ſuppoſed wicked enough to adopt ſuch a plan?—No, they would not—becauſe it would involve a diſſolution of the very frame and fabric of Parliament, and would be a proceeding beyond the *moral competence* of its power;—and yet, where is the

difference in point of *right*, whether you reduce the representation to one hundred members to be kept at home, or to be incorporated into the Parliament of England? though there certainly is great difference in point of *injury*, for I conceive, that even a representation of one hundred members at home, would be infinitely more useful than even a greater number could be in another country, when mixed with the representation of that country to which they would bear no proportion. It has been argued that the Revolution itself is an example of the great and indefinite power of Parliament; but I contend for it, that (besides that the conduct of Parliament at that time was dictated by the most imperious of all authority, namely necessity,) the precedent of the Revolution, as far as it can be argued upon, is against the measure now proposed, inasmuch as it is a precedent of a casual deviation from the line of the Constitution, "not for its destruction but for its preservation," and in as much as the very offence for which James the Second was declared to have abdicated the Crown, was similar in its nature to what I conceive an incorporating Union would be, namely a subversion of the legislative and established Constitution of this kingdom. Sir the nature of our alliance with England hitherto has been that of a federal Union, with one Executive Head, but distinct Legislative Bodies; but it is a mockery to say this country will have any Legislature after a Union shall take place. In matters where the interests of the countries may be distinct, (and we have seen they may be distinct, though their affections never can be torn asunder) is it in the nature of things that this country can have justice in the United Parliament, even supposing the whole portion of her representation to be faithful to their trust—a supposition surely which the experience of this night will not hesitate to verify—but if an incorporate Union of legislative functions between two independent States, having (as I admit we have, and hope always will have) the same common imperial interests be an object so very desirable and so highly expedient (and particularly for the inferior state) to embrace, why have not the advocates for this measure been able to adduce a single instance from history ancient or modern, savage or civilized (save the Scotch Union) of such a system? for my part I know of but one example of the practical experiment of the principle of the Consolidation of Legislatures, and that is in the conduct of republican France towards its allies in the Low Countries and in Italy. Do you think, Sir, the Batavian Provinces have been more free, prosperous, or powerful, since they have been united into one Legislature, than when they enjoyed their distinct provincial legislation, when each province had its peculiar resident legislative assembly? or are the Swiss cantons (heretofore the asylum of sturdy and unconquered liberty for centuries) more remote from slavery, ruin and national

weakneſs, with their preſent Directorial form of Government, and a general aſſembly for the purpoſes of legiſlation, than they were when the independancy of the ſeveral confederacies on each other was at once the ſecurity and incentive to their independancy on foreign ſtates? The Hanſeatic league too is an inſtance of what I am contending for; this league (for it is a league and not a Union) continues to be reſpected to this day, and has ſtood unaſſailed and unſhaken amidſt the ſtorms which have from time to time convulſed and deſolated the ſurrounding nations, and this merely from the reſpect paid to their ſyſtem, and to their commercial importance, the conſequence of the equality of their condition, each member of the league uniting for the general good, but no one *legiſlating* for, *taxing* or *encroaching* on the other. Is it not then manifeſt that the federal Union which leaves the right with each State of local taxation and legiſlation, and merely unites the powers and energies of the ſeveral parts of the confederacy for general imperial purpoſes has always been the form moſt favourable to the growth of freedom, wealth, and general proſperity? Whereas an incorporate Union, in the only inſtances (beſides that of Scotland) in which it can be ſhewn to exiſt, has had the direct contrary tendency as the obvious change in the ſtrength and freedom of thoſe countries which have been *obliged* by the power of France to make the experiment moſt indiſputably ſhews. But the Rt. Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Corry) urges the precedent of the Scotch Union, I thought that precedent had been abundantly expoſed as inapplicable to the caſe of this country, by the number of Gentlemen who have diſcuſſed it in the debate, and though it has been ſhewn (and I am ſure at this hour I will not attempt to ſhew it again) that the analogy by no means holds between the caſes of the two Countries, whether we conſider the time, the exiſting circumſtances, the objects, the means, or the inſtruments; ſtill the Rt. Hon. Gentleman is pertinacious in inſiſting that the inſtance of the Scotch Union is not only applicable, but the only material difference is, that the Union now projected is an enterpriſe of more eaſy accompliſhment than that was. Does the Rt. Hon. Gentleman think that the Iriſh Union can be purchaſed for 22,000l. as the Scotch was? I ſhould think he has calculated the ſurrender of our liberties, even at a leſs price, for he ſays it is *more eaſily* accompliſhed; this day I think will tell him at what price the people and their honeſt repreſentatives will ſell their Conſtitution, it will tell him there is a ſpirit of public virtue and integrity in this Houſe and in this country, which political arithmetic cannot calculate, and which is beyond the purchaſe of the moſt liberal corruption. My Rt. Hon. friend (late Prime Serjeant) has adduced the opinion of the late celebrated Mr. Burke, that Parliament is incompetent to deſtroy itſelf and to abandon its poſt in the ſyſtem of our Conſtitution, and I do not know any

opinion which the adviſers of this meaſure of an Union would be more inclined to follow than that of Mr. Burke if it had happened to be on their ſide, but as it is againſt them, it is of no authority whatſoever, but I will give them the opinion of a man to whoſe ſentiments they will all implicitly ſubſcribe, it is the opinion of Mr. Pitt upon the ſubject of the excluſive independance and competency of the Iriſh Parliament to legiſlate for this country, and to provide for the emergencies of her diſturbed ſituation, it was given ſo lately too as the 23d of March 1797, on the motion of Mr. Fox to addreſs his Majeſty, to oblige his Miniſters to adopt a ſyſtem of lenient meaſures with regard to Ireland.

The words of Mr. Pitt are theſe "The Parliament of Ireland "was conſidered to be the natural ſource of the laws of that coun- "try; it was conſidered proper to entruſt to its care and pro- "tection the intereſt of the country. And ſurely the Hon. "Gentleman cannot mean to ſay, that when we gave Ireland a "Parliament of its own, we only gave it nominally; he did not "mean, that we had put them in poſſeſſion of a conſtitution "which was like the Britiſh conſtitution, but was at the ſame "time wholly unfit for the exerciſe of excluſive legiſlation; he "will not ſay, that the conceſſion of 1782 was not intended to make "the Parliament completely independant of controul, or that, if "its fundamental principles are the ſame, he nevertheleſs conſi- "ders it defective in point of rational, real and ſolid power. "If the Hon. Gentleman thinks it was a conceſſion on our "part to the well founded claims of the Iriſh nation, on what "ground, then, can he expect that this Houſe ought to aſ- "ſume it as a principle, that ſuppoſing there are diſorders ex- "iſting in Ireland, we ought to remedy thoſe diſorders by an "alteration in the fundamental form of its legiſlation? How "can ſuch an interference be admitted, after we have declared "the Parliament of Ireland independant, and placed it beyond "our reach and controul? The Hon. Gentleman will, I truſt, "find it difficult to convince the Houſe, that the only way to "remedy thoſe diſorders, is to alter the legiſlature of the "country, which, for the purpoſe of making laws, is rendered "independant and excluſive of this country. If we have given "up the *right* of interferring in the internal policy, we have "alſo given up the *power* of ſo interfering; and any interfe- "rence with reſpect to the internal laws or regulations of Ire- "land, would be an invaſion of thoſe very fundamental princi- "ples which, in 1782, we recogniſed; and on that ground I "am authoriſed in conſidering, that the addreſs propoſed "would be an addreſs for the expreſs purpoſe of violating thoſe "fundamental principles." Here is the explicit recognition of our Parliamentary Independance by that Miniſter, under whoſe

auſpices it is now, in this maſqued and inſidious manner, attempted to be taken away. But, Sir, I did not riſe at this hour ſo much for the purpoſe of *debating* a ſubject already exhauſted, as of giving an *opinion* on it—that opinion I now repeat, and it is, that Parliament, unleſs authorized by the explicit unequivocal ſenſe of the People, has no right to conſent to the meaſure of a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, and that if it ſhould adopt ſuch a meaſure againſt the conſent of the people, there is no inherent moral *right* in the legiſlature ſo to do, by which the nation would be bound to adopt the proceeding.

Mr. ODELL oppoſed the amendment.

Mr, WILLIAM SMITH.—Sir, I had intended to confine myſelf to night to a ſilent vote, and to have taken the chance of this queſtion's undergoing ſuch farther inveſtigation as would enable me hereafter to declare my ſentiments upon it. As it is, I ſhall treſpaſs but a very ſhort time upon the houſe, and with a view to brevity, ſhall follow an example which has been moſt liberally ſet me—by ſubſtituting aſſertion in the place of argument.

I riſe, Sir, becauſe I hold myſelf to be called on to abandon my intentions of remaining ſilent; by that confident denial, which I have heard repeated on every ſide, of the competence of Parliament to enact an Union. Every lawyer who has riſen to oppoſe the meaſure, has thought proper, at the ſame time, to proteſt againſt the authority of Parliment to achieve it. I riſe, Sir, as a lawyer, to record my diſſent from what I conceive to be ſo unfounded, and ſo miſchievous a doctrine. I riſe explicitly to declare my decided opinion, (without pretending to eſtimate the weight which that opinion ought to have) that Parliament is as competent to conclude an Union, as it is to enact a turnpike bill. I mean not to detract from the importance of the former great imperial arrangement, or to inſinuate that the ſenſe of the community upon it is not deſerving of our moſt ſerious attention: I mean merely to aſſert the theoretic, conſtitutional competence of the Iriſh Legiſlature. Public ſentiment, on a great and complicated meaſure, is weighty evidence of the miſchief or utility of that meaſure: as ſuch it ſhould be laid before, and may perhaps concluſively ſway the judgment of that body, which has the right of legiſlation. But public opinion is but evidence, not law:—it is evidence which the people may lay before that Parliament, whoſe province is to eſtimate the force and tendency of this evidence, but whoſe right of finally and excluſively deciding the queſtion, uncontrolled by popular whim, is a clear and undoubted principle of the Conſtitution. A contrary doctrine would not only impugn the expreſs authority of Coke and Blackſtone, and all legal and conſtitutional writers with whom I am acquainted, but would ſhake the fabrick of our rights and liberties to its foundation: would go to cancel the

title deed of 1706, by virtue of which his Majeſty holds his Scottiſh Crown: would queſtion the legitimacy of that mixed aſſembly, which was formed by the coalition of the Scotch and Engliſh Legiſlatures, and impeach the force of every ſtatute which has been enacted ſince their junction: and would confound and violate the very elements of our Conſtitution, by transferring the ſupreme authority from the Parliament to the people.

Mr. STEWART, of Killymoon, ſaid, that at ſo late an hour, he had neither ſtrength nor inclination to take up much of the time of the Houſe; but on a ſubject ſo important, and when by the vote of that night the fate of Ireland was probably to be decided, he conſidered it a duty he owed to his Country to declare publicly his opinion: that opinion, he ſaid, was decidedly againſt a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain.—He feared that ſuch a meaſure would create diſcontent and endleſs jealouſies, and thereby endanger that friendly connexion which now ſubſiſts, and which he wiſhes may be perpetual between the two Countries, being convinced that it is indiſpenſably neceſſary to the proſperity of each of them.—He acknowleged his gratitude for the generous ſervices of the Engliſh militia regiments and fencibles, and reminded the Houſe, that in happier times we had ſent almoſt the whole of our ſtanding army to aſſiſt Great Britain, truſting for our own defence to our glorious voluntcers.—He concluded by declaring himſelf in favour of Mr. Ponſonby's Amendment.

Col. UNIACKE oppoſed the Amendment, as did Mr. STAPLES.

Mr. Serjeant STANLEY ſupported the Addreſs to the King in its original form, and quoted Lord Coke's 4th Inſtit. the authority of Lord Somers and Judge Blackſtone's Commentary, which he read in his place, to prove that Parliament were fully competent to adopt the propoſed meaſure, and that in ſeveral inſtances, Acts of Parliament had paſſed to alter the ſucceſſion to the Crown, and to change the Conſtitution of Parliament itſelf, as was done by the Act of Union between England and Scotland, and the Acts for Triennial and Septennial Parliaments. He ſaid, he was ſorry that too much heat and paſſion had been intermixed in the debate—that the Nobleman who was at the head of the Government, merely wiſhed to ſubmit the meaſure to the conſideration of Parliament, as the moſt likely means to give permanency and ſtability to the Conſtitution, aud to communicate peace, true independance and happineſs to the great body of the people, but that the high character and well deſerved fame of Lord Cornwallis was a ſufficient pledge to the nation, that it was not his wiſh to precipitate the meaſure or to perſevere in carrying it into effect, if upon a full and deliberate diſcuſſion, it ſhould appear to be repugnant to the intereſts of the Kingdnm, or againſt the general ſenſe of the Nation.

A

REPORT

OF THE

DEBATE IN THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

OF

IRELAND,

ON THE 24TH, 25TH, 26TH AND 28TH
OF *JANUARY*, 1799,

ON THE SUBJECT OF

AN UNION.

DUBLIN:
PRINTED FOR JAMES MOORE, NO. 45, COLLEGE-GREEN.
1799.

THURSDAY, JANUARY 24, 1799.

THE ſtanding orders of the Houſe were revived, and a Committee of Privileges appointed. Lord Tyrone reported from the Committee appointed to prepare the Addreſs to his Majeſty, reading it paragraph by paragraph, and is as follows:

"WE your Majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal Subjects, the Commons of *Ireland* in Parliament aſſembled, beg leave to approach your Majeſty with the moſt cordial expreſſions of duty, loyalty and attachment to your Majeſty's ſacred Perſon, Family and Government.

"We ſincerely participate in the ſatisfaction which your Majeſty muſt feel in the happy effects which have followed the unparalleled achievement of the detachment of your Majeſty's Fleet under the command of Rear Admiral Lord *Nelſon*, on the total defeat of the *French* ſquadron off the coaſts of this kingdom by that under the command of Sir *John Borlaſe Warren*, and on the brilliant and important conqueſt of *Minorca*; theſe events, while they afford to us in common with every other deſcription of your Majeſty's ſubjects matter of juſt and honourable pride, are calculated to inſpire other Powers with confidence, and manifeſt to all *Europe* that a ſyſtem of vigour and exertion, directed with manly perſeverance againſt the deſtructive projects of the common enemy, may be attended with the moſt beneficial conſequences.

"We moſt ſincerely lament that in ſeveral parts of this kingdom a ſpirit of diſaffection ſtill exiſts, and that the expectation of foreign aſſiſtance is kept alive among the lower claſſes by the ſecret agents of *France*, but your Majeſty may rely on the firmneſs of our determination to counteract every machination of the enemy, and to continue our exertions with unabated vigour in ſupport of the honour of your Crown, the intereſts of this kingdom and the general cauſe of the Empire.

"We ſhall take into our early conſideration the public accounts and the eſtimates for the enſuing year, and in granting the neceſſary ſupplies we ſhall endeavour to render them as little burthenſome to the people as poſſible; it will be our deſire to make them adequate to the neceſſary exigencies of the ſtate, as we are confident they will be prudently and economically applied.

"In reflecting on the general proſperity of the Empire we feel with true ſatisfaction that notwithſtanding our internal calamities the Revenue and Trade of this kingdom have increaſed, and that our intereſts are ſo blended with thoſe of *Great Britain* as to produce a participation in the general proſperity.

"Your Majeſty may be aſſured that the Proteſtant Charter Schools and other charitable inſtitutions which have uſually received the aid of Parliament will continue to be encouraged by

our ſupport, and that we ſhall not fail in our attention to the Agriculture, the Manufactures, and particularly the Linen Manufacture of this Kingdom; the honourable claims of thoſe who have ſuffered from their loyalty during the Rebellion, as they have intereſted your Majeſty's humane regard, are recommended to our liberality by every endearing motive.

"We beg leave to aſſure your Majeſty that we ſhall direct our efforts with perſevering energy for repreſſing that ſpirit of diſaffection which ſtill requires extraordinary powers to check its malignant effects; we acknowledge the acts of ſeverity which have been exerciſed to be indiſpenſable, whilſt we are ſenſible that the rigours of penal juſtice have been tempered with as much forbearance and lenity as the public ſafety would admit.

"We rejoice that in the general cauſe which engages the Empire our proſpects are highly improved, and we feel the warmeſt incentives to redouble our exertions as the probability is increaſed of bringing the war to a ſucceſsful termination.

"It muſt be highly gratifying to your Majeſty to reflect on that zeal which has been manifeſted by the Regular and Militia Forces, and by that gallantry which has diſtinguiſhed the Yeomanry. We cannot too highly applaud their conduct, and when we conſider the honourable and effectual aſſiſtance of the *Britiſh* Fencibles and Militia, and the activity, ſkill and valour of your Majeſty's Fleets, we doubt not that every future effort of the enemy will be entirely fruſtrated; but reflecting on the ſituation and circumſtances of this kingdom, and conſidering on the hand the ſtrength and ſtability of *Great Britain*, and on the other thoſe diviſions which have ſhaken this kingdoms to its foundations, we ſhould feel happy if any adjuſtment can be deviſed which may extend the advantages enjoyed by our Siſter Kingdom to every part of this iſland.

"* *The unremitting activity with which our enemies perſevere in their avowed deſign of endeavouring to effect a Separation of this Kingdom from* Great Britain, *muſt conſtantly engage our moſt earneſt attention; and as your Majeſty has condeſcended to expreſs an anxious hope that this circumſtance, joined to the ſentiment of mutual affection and common intereſt, may diſpoſe the Parliament in both kingdoms to provide the moſt effectual means of maintaining and improving a connexion eſſential to their common ſecurity, and of conſolidating as far as poſſible, into one firm and laſting fabric, the ſtrength, the power and the reſources of the* Britiſh *Empire, we ſhall not fail to give the fulleſt conſideration to a communication of ſuch momentous importance.*

"We return your Majeſty our ſincereſt thanks for continuing the Marquis *Cornwallis* in the Government of this kingdom, whoſe eminent military talents and whoſe experienced wiſdom and benevolence are ſo peculiarly calculated to inſpire your Majeſty's faithful People with confidence on this important criſis."

* *This is the paragraph expunged from the addreſs.*

Sir L. PARSONS.—Exhauſted as every member muſt be by the laſt Debate, and exhauſted as the ſubject has been by ſo long a diſcuſſion—its importance alone can apologiſe for my making any obſervations upon it at preſent. That paragraph of the Addreſs upon which you are now going to decide, would pledge you by a metaphorical expreſſion to admit the principle of a Legiſlative Union.—I am glad it comes before you again, as it will now give you an opportunity of reconſidering your late deciſion, and vindicating yourſelves and your Country from the diſgrace of countenancing a propoſition ſo degrading to Ireland, as that which has for its object the ſurrender of your Independance. I hoped that in 1782, the Final Adjuſtment which was then made, would, in the language of the Parliament of that day, put an end to all controverſies between theſe two kingdoms for ever. Such controverſies have been always injurious to the Government of this Country, and dangerous to our connexion with England. Before 1782, when Ireland was ſtruggling for her independency, and the Engliſh Government contending againſt it, the conſequence was, that all the principal perſons in official ſituations at that time, by voting continually with the Miniſter againſt our national claims, became ſo odious and were ſo blackened in the eyes of the people, that even after we had obtained our independancy, the people could place no confidence in a Government compoſed of thoſe very men who had ſo long reſiſted it. Sixteen years had removed many of theſe men, and nearly obliterated the recollection of theſe old conflicts, and juſt at the time that it might be hoped that a Government well conducted might poſſeſs the public confidence, this unfortunate meaſure of a Union is now brought forward reviving political controverſies, kindling anew political jealouſies between the two kingdoms, and debaſing and blackening all the official men in high ſituations here, in the opinion of the people; for never, never can the people of Ireland place confidence in an Adminiſtration, compoſed of men who on this occaſion have ſhewn their promptitude to betray the deareſt rights and privileges of their Country.—No! you are blackened, and blackened for ever in the eyes of the people of Ireland! But however unfavourable the ſentiment of the people muſt be towards thoſe men, there is this good conſequence reſulting from this project, that the ſentiment of the people towards this Houſe muſt be exalted.—The independant Gentlemen of Ireland in deſpite of all the direct and indirect means which have been employed to pervert them on this occaſion, have proved this to the Nation, that their preſent Independant Parliamentary Conſtitution is dearer to them than their lives, and that it is but with their lives that they will ever ſurrender it: Yes, the Parliament, or, I ſhould ſay, this Houſe, has repeated the malignant calumnies of its univerſal corruption, which

have been of late induſtriouſly propagated from the quarter from which of all others they ſhould laſt come. There is not in the world a more open, warmhearted, grateful and unſuſpecting people than the people of Ireland.—This unfortunate and ill-adviſed attempt however, muſt deſtroy in them all future confidence towards the Government here, as long as it is conſtituted of thoſe men who on this occaſion have been ſo forward to ſacrifice the rights of their Country, even though this day ſhould, as I truſt it will, put a compleat and decided termination to the fatal project;—be aſſured, it is neceſſary that we ſhould now put it down decisively, otherwiſe this Country will continue in a ſtate of ferment and agitation, every day more and more prejudicial to the connexion between theſe kingdoms; a Connexion, to which my reaſon and my ſentiments ſtrongly bind me, and which I would preſerve at any expence ſave that of Iriſh liberty. I do not know who was the adviſer of this project, but whoever he was, he muſt have been utterly ignorant of the ſentiments of our people. A ſtateſman ſhould conſider two things before he propoſes any public meaſure; 1ſt, whether the meaſure be intrinſically good? Next, whether it be adapted to the diſpoſitions of the people. Now, any man who knew the Gentlemen and People of Ireland, muſt have known that a Legiſlative Union would never have been borne by them.

The Noble Lord has ſaid as an argument for an Union, that this country is too poor to maintain its independance. The anſwer to that is in the Speech from the Throne, which repreſents our commerce and revenue to be in a ſtate of encreaſe. It is notorious to every man that the wealth and revenues of Ireland have augmented in the laſt 20 years beyond the example of perhaps any country in the world, yet we are told now that we are not rich enough to maintain our parliamentary Conſtitution, though we have maintained that Conſtitution for above 600 years when we were ſo much more poor. The Noble Lord ſays that an Union will tranquilliſe this kingdom, the anſwer to that is in the ſpeech of almoſt every county Member who has ſpoken, they ſay that ſo far from tranquilliſing, it will produce, if perſiſted in, the moſt violent convulſion. Indeed why ſhould a meaſure be ſuppoſed likely to tranquilliſe the people, which has not been called for by any claſs or deſcription of the people, and which every where that any ſentiment has been expreſſed by them, it has been unanimouſly and ſtrongly againſt it, ſave only the ſolitary corporation of Cork. The Noble Lord has ſtated the obligation we owe England, for the aſſiſtance ſhe afforded us this ſummer in ſending here her Militia and Fencible regiments. I coincide with the Noble Lord in highly appreciating that ſervice, and in honouring the gallantry of thoſe men to whom the Nation owes every poſſi-

ble demonſtration of gratitude, but while he recollects our obligation to England in this inſtance, let him not forget her obligations to us for ſimilar favours. In the American war Ireland ſtripped herſelf of her laſt man to ſend out aids to the armaments of England, and armed voluntarily to defend herſelf. In the beginning of this war we ſent almoſt the whole of our army to fight her battles on the Continent and in the Weſt Indies, as that on the 1ſt of June 1794, while victory was hovering doubtful over the fleets of England and France, if by any accident the former had been baffled, we ſhould have been invaded, at a time that we had not 2000 diſciplined men in our iſland. I ſay therefore that if the account were fairly ſtated of ſuch aids to each country, without detracting from the value of the force we have lately received, the balance would I believe be in favour of Ireland.

The Noble Lord admits indeed that Ireland muſt loſe ſomewhat by the encreaſe of abſentees but ſays that that loſs would be countervailed by the number of Engliſh merchants and manufacturers that would come to ſettle here. He repreſents them immediately covering the face of the whole iſland, and producing every where a new and valuable middle order of men. The ſame was ſaid in the American war when we obtained a free trade, but no Engliſhman came to ſettle here in conſequence. Now what inducement would they have to ſettle here after an Union, which they had not 5 years ago or 10 years ago? Since the year 1779 we have poſſeſſed a liberty of trade, a few articles excepted, co-extenſive with England, why then have not Engliſhmen come and availed themſelves of it? Why has not our ſuperior ſituation for trade tempted them here hitherto. It is now 20 years ſince we obtained that free trade, yet not a ſingle Engliſh merchant of any conſequence has ſince ſettled here. The only poſſible extenſion of trade England could give us, is what is called the channel trade and that in the firſt place is of but little importance, and in the next, it has been promiſed already by every repreſentative of the Engliſh Government in this houſe for ſome years paſt. It was promiſed by Lord Hobart; it was promiſed by Mr. Douglaſs; it was promiſed by Mr. Pelham, and it was promiſed by the noble Lord himſelf, and that in ſuch explicit and emphatic terms, that he ſaid in this Houſe, "that if no one elſe did, he would bring it forward whenever a ſeaſon of tranquillity arrived, and that if it ſhould be reſiſted by Government, he himſelf would oppoſe the Miniſter who ſhould reſiſt it." If then there is any faith in theſe Miniſters, we ſhall obtain it gratuitouſly, why then purchaſe it by the ſurrender of our Conſtitution? I believe, no man in his ſenſes would give any thing to purchaſe that which he could obtain for nothing, but what ſingular folly would it be for the Iriſh

Nation, to purchaſe that which it is aſſured of gratuitouſly, by the ſurrender of freedom and independence and every thing that is dear to a people?

The Noble Lord ſays that the preſent Conſtitution of this country cannot ſtand, that two legiſlatures co-equal and co-ordinate in the ſame empire are incompatible, that they may decide on the ſame matter contrary ways, and one declare for peace, when the other does for war. This objection to our independance, is exactly the ſame, as the objection of a noted writer, Thomas Paine, to the Engliſh Conſtitution. He ridicules the Conſtitution for having three co-ordinate eſtates, and ſays, that one may decide one way, and the other, another. But what is the fact? That the objection both of Thomas Paine to the Engliſh Conſtitution and of the Noble Lord to Iriſh independance, are both theoretical objections, contradicted by conſtant experience. The ſame kind of objection might be made to trial by jury, that twelve men would never agree in a verdict, but we find, notwithſtanding, that they do agree, and however extraordinary it may appear in theory, yet that in practice it is an admirable inſtitution, and has been found ſo from the times of our Saxon anceſtors to the preſent day. There is no danger of this diſagreement between the independant legiſlatures of theſe two kingdoms which the Noble Lord apprehends. There will be always ſo much good ſenſe in the gentlemen of this Houſe, it will be always ſo much their intereſt to accord with England in every thing reaſonable, and there will be always ſo much miniſterial influence, neceſſarily from the nature of our conſtitutions, as will enſure a conformity of will in every thing eſſential.

See what Ireland already yields to England and then judge, if the government be reaſonably well adminiſtered, whether there can be any danger of a difference of will between the two kingdoms, or of any breach of the connexion—by giving to England the appointment of the King, we give her the appointment of the firſt branch of the Legiſlature, with a negative upon all our laws, ſo that Ireland never can paſs a law unleſs the great ſeal of England be affixed to it. Ireland alſo by giving to England the appointment of the King gives to her the creation of the ſecond branch of our Legiſlature, and reſerves for her own people only the nomination of the third; namely this aſſembly. By it, ſhe alſo gives her the diſtribution of all the honours of the ſtate hereditary and occaſional; ſhe gives her the appointment of all the Biſhops with the whole patronage of the church; ſhe gives her the appointment of the Judges and all the judicial officers of the Nation; ſhe gives her the nomination of all the officers of the revenue with the unbounded patronage attendant thereon; ſhe alſo gives her the appointment of the Chief Governor and of the Privy

Council; ſhe gives her the command of her army, militia and yeomen with the appointment to every commiſſion in theſe, together with the power of declaring peace and war. In trade too ſhe gives her a monopoly of the whole trade of the Eaſt, a hemiſphere; and in the Weſt, ſhe binds herſelf to trade only with Engliſh Colonies, the products of which are the deareſt in the world, inſtead of taking them from other countries where they are cheap; ſhe gives her beſides the ſole power of making her treaties of commerce negociated by her ambaſſadors and miniſters; ſhe pays alſo to England an income in money of about a million and a half a year which goes to our Abſentees, a neceſſary conſequence of the connexion, and a kind of tribute to it, greater than any vanquiſhed country ever paid for any time to its conquerors, and all this we are willing to give up to England, provided that we are allowed to retain our Conſtitution, yet are her Miniſters not ſatisfied, but want to deſpoil us of it alſo. That Conſtitution was eſtabliſhed by the original compact between the firſt Engliſh King that ruled here, and the Iriſh people, it was afterwards ratified by repeated charters and ſtatutes, the Nation has been in poſſeſſion of it for now above 600 years, and the Gentlemen around me have all declared that they will never part with it, but with their lives.

His Majeſty's Attorney General indeed has ſaid that the Parliament during the firſt three reigns after the eſtabliſhment of the Engliſh here, ſat in England and that there was then a kind of Union—if it were ſo, that would be of little import to us at the preſent day, the conſideration being not what the Conſtitution was then, but what it is now. I hold however in my hand a deciſive document againſt this aſſertion of the Attorney General. It is the anſwer of the Iriſh Parliament to Edward 3d, when ſummoned by him to England. I will read it to you to ſhew what the Conſtitution was, and alſo what the ſpirit was, which animated the Iriſh Parliament at that day. Mark their language ſpeaking to that wiſe and heroic prince Edward 3d.

"The Nobles and Commons unanimouſly and with one voice "declare, that according to the rights, privileges, liberties, laws "and cuſtoms of the land of Ireland enjoyed from the time of "the conqueſt of ſaid land, they are not bound to ſend any per-"ſons from the land of Ireland to the Parliament or Council of "our Lord the King in England as the writ requires. Notwith-"ſtanding on account of their reverence, and the neceſſity and "preſent diſtreſs of the ſaid land, they have elected repreſenta-"tives to repair to the King, and to treat and conſult with him "and his Council; reſerving to themſelves the power of yielding "or agreeing to any ſubſidies. At the ſame time proteſting that "their compliance is not hereafter to be taken in prejudice to "the rights, privileges, laws and cuſtoms which the Lords and

" Commons from the time of the conqueſt of the land of Ire-
" land, have enjoyed."

Thus at a time of great exigency, they conſent for once to go; but knowing, that mingled with the Parliament of England, they muſt be outnumbered; and ſo that great ſubſidies might be impoſed on their own country againſt their conſent, they previouſly declare, that they reſerve to themſelves alone the power of raiſing any contributions on the people; and they conclude, that their compliance on this occaſion ſhould never be brought as a precedent for any future day. Nor was it; for never do we meet with an inſtance of this again.

His Majeſty's Attorney General has alſo quoted the authority of Mr. Molyneux, as favourable to an Union: the name of Molyneux muſt be dear to every friend of Ireland; and therefore his ſentiment ſhould be fairly ſtated. He was contending againſt the uſurped ſupremacy of the Britiſh Legiſlature, and writing at a time that our Conſtitution was ſo deformed by the perverſions of the Law of Poyning, and ſo ſubdued by the overruling power of the Engliſh Parliament, that, in compariſon of that ſtate, he might ſay, that even an Union was a deſirable meaſure: but if the ſpirit of Molyneux could now call to you from his tomb, beholding you inveſted with all the plenitude of ſupreme imperial authority, would it not invoke you to part with your lives, rather than with your independance? His Majeſty's Attorney General has alſo quoted the authority of Lord Somers, as a favourer of the Scotch Union; and why ſhould he not be a favourer of it? for he was an Engliſhman, and therefore a friend to the power of England. There is this difference, therefore, between the conduct of my Lord Somers and his Majeſty's Attorney General; that the one was arguing for a Union to exalt his country, that the other is arguing for a Union to debaſe his. But were my Lord Somers now alive, and an Iriſhman and Attorney General of Ireland, he would ſooner not only part with his office, but with his life too, than ſupport the projected Union.

Were the Union ever ſo good a meaſure, why bring it forward at this time? Is it not evidently to take advantage of England's ſtrength here, and our own internal weakneſs? It is always in times of diviſion and diſaſter, that a nation avails itſelf of the infirmities of its neighbour, to obtain an unjuſt dominion. The hiſtory of mankind is full of ſuch inſtances. Every page preſents you with the injuſtice and rapine committed by one country againſt the credulity and weakneſs of another. You have no reaſon, therefore, to be much ſurprized at the attempt of the preſent day. It is a great project to deſtroy at once the Conſtitution of this country, which has laſted above 600 years, and at a fatal ſeaſon to ſubject it to the domination of England for

ever. What indeed have mankind been warring for ſince the foundation of the world, but one country ſtriving to obtain dominion over another? and this is the ſimple ſtate of the attempt of the preſent day: namely, that Great Britain ſhould rule you inſtead of you ruling yourſelves. That Great Britain ſhould deſire to do ſo, I do not much wonder at; for what nation is there that would not deſire to rule another? Nor am I ſurpriſed that there ſhould be ſome among you baſe enough to conſpire with her in doing ſo; for no country can expect to be ſo fortunate as not to have betrayers and patricides among its citizens. But if this Aſſembly, the choſen protectors of the peoples rights, ſhould agree thus to betray them; that indeed would be matter of ſuch ſurprize and indignation too, as I have not a mind to conceive, or language to expreſs.

Our preſent Conſtitution of Parliament is as old as our connexion with England; and if you are not falſe to yourſelves and to your country, it will be as laſting as that connexion. According to my Lord Coke, Parliaments were eſtabliſhed here by Henry II. According to Mr. Pettyt, there is a record of the Commons being ſummoned to Parliament here, at an earlier period, than there is any record of the Commons of England being ſummoned to Parliament there. So much ſo, that it is from the Iriſh record that he argues the antiquity of the Engliſh Houſe of Commons; ſuppoſing, and reaſonably, that it muſt have been as ancient as ours.

We may therefore, without engaging in the diſputes of Antiquarians, date the being of our preſent conſtitution of Parliament inconteſtably from as early an Epoch as England can inconteſtably date the being of hers. Ireland has a Magna Charta too, more than once ratified and confirmed, and as full and as explicit a declaration of liberties as the great Charter of England: That of Henry the Third, runs word for word, the ſame as the Engliſh Charter, changing only the names. Thus not only were Parliaments ſo early eſtabliſhed in Ireland, but the broad baſis of chartered liberties, upon which they ſtood in England, was eſtabliſhed here alſo: our predeceſſors knowing that both were neceſſary to their liberty and happineſs, the charters, as defining their individual rights, and their own Parliaments, to watch over and protect them. And therefore when Edward the Third ſummoned the Iriſh Parliament to England, they proteſted againſt the precedent as I have ſtated. For our predeceſſors had not that ſilly confidence in the Engliſh Parliament which we find in ſome weak men of the preſent day—they knew that if they ſat in the Engliſh Parliament, they muſt be out-numbered—that if they were out-numbered, they ſhould be out-voted in the only inſtance in which the intereſts of the two countries were likely then to

come in competition;—namely the ſupplies that Ireland was to contribute—and therefore they previouſly declared that no Engliſh member ſhould vote on thoſe ſupplies, and this they did too unanimouſly; Sir, there was not to be found in the Parliament of that day, one man ſo inſane or ſo baſe as to truſt the intereſts of Ireland to the overruling numbers of the Engliſh Parliament. Will not their ſpirit animate you now, and their wiſdom dictate to you your duty?

The anſwer of this dignified Parliament to the ſummons of Edward the Third, ſecured the independance of Ireland for many ſucceeding ages. In later times however the extraordinary doctrine was broached, that the Engliſh Parliament had a right to make laws for Ireland. The firſt controverſy on this ſubject took place in the reign of Charles the Firſt, when this country had been torn and waſted by Rebellion. It was again revived and exerciſed in frequent inſtances, when this country was again debilitated by Civil War after the Revolution—and now is the ſupremacy of the Engliſh Parliament attempted to be revived once more, and in a more formidable ſhape than ever, by the extinction of our own, when this country has been once more enfeebled by its own internal diſſenſions and conflicts. So natural is it for a nation to encroach upon the rights of another, at the time that it is weakened and diſtreſſed, and ſo clearly is the deſign of England manifeſted by our hiſtory, her uſurpation continually treading upon the heels of our infirmity. In the American war, however, Ireland burſt the chain of theſe uſurpations—how?—by her Parliament. It was our own Parliament then, aided and urged by a high-ſpirited people, whoſe hearts throbbed with liberty, and whoſe hands were ſtrong with voluntary arms; it was here, I ſay, within theſe walls, that this aſſembly, the organ of the popular will, put forth its voice and demanded the freedom of our conſtitution, and the uncontrouled, legiſlative and ſupreme authority of the land. It was here before the breath of the Parliament of Ireland, that the uſurping domination of England bowed its head and dropped the ſceptre of its power, and therefore it is that our Parliament is now to be utterly deſtroyed, root and branch, not a fibre of it left in the land, leſt it ſhould grow again, and ſhoot, ſpread and flouriſh, and leſt Ireland at ſome hallowed moment ſhould once more through the medium of this aſſembly recover its freedom. Annihilate the Parliament of Ireland, that is the cry that comes acroſs the water—Now is the time—Ireland is weak—Ireland is divided—Ireland is appalled by civil war—Ireland is covered with troops—martial law brandiſhes its ſword throughout the land—now is the time to put down Ireland for ever—now ſtrike the blow—who?—*is it you?*—will you obey that voice?—will you betray your country?

Lord CASTLEREAGH ſaid it was by no means his deſire to re-argue the queſtion ſo extenſively debated on Tueſday; the object of the Honourable Baronet was to expunge this paragraph from the Addreſs, and to that only he would ſpeak.—What did the paragraph imply to any man who took the pains of reading it? Nothing more than the readineſs of the Houſe to enter into the conſideration of ſuch meaſures as ſhould be moſt likely to conſolidate the ſtrength of the Empire. Could any man deny that this was a deſirable object? or could any man expect that ſuch a metaphorical expreſſion would be laid hold of to imply that by it that Houſe was ſpecifically pledged to the meaſure of an Union?—It was urged, that the perſon repreſenting Government in that Houſe had not declared poſitively to the Houſe, that he would not again bring forward the queſtion this Seſſion: Could this be a motive for refuſing aſſent to the paragraph? What was the declaration made by that perſon? that he would look to the ſenſe of Parliament and of the Nation, and give it its fair weight, in the prudential conſideration of re-agitating the queſtion. But convinced, as he was, that the meaſure was one of great and important advantage, he would never loſe ſight of it; and if he felt that conviction, he would deſert—baſely deſert his duty, were he influenced by clamour to abandon it. He had not pledged himſelf to renounce it for the Seſſion, but he was pledged by a ſtronger tie—his attention to the opinion of Parliament and the Country: had it been neceſſary to bind him by ſuch a promiſe—had he been ſuch a perſon as nothing but an extorted conſent could bind, how eaſy would it be for the Miniſter to elude ſuch a promiſe; how eaſy, if the ſenſe of the country ſhould change, would he be able, by a prorogation, to put an end to this Seſſion, and propoſe the meaſure in a new one? Was the Parliament ſo diſtruſtful of itſelf as to find ſuch a promiſe neceſſary? was it ſo afraid of the change of ſentiment in the country, as to wiſh to tie up its own hands againſt the meaſure? if it were ſo, might not ſuch a Parliament be ſent back to its Conſtituents, if it were frantic enough to bind itſelf by a reſolution which might render it neceſſarily regardleſs of the voice and intereſt of the country? Parliament had at all times the power of diſmiſſing from immediate diſcuſſion any meaſure propoſed, but it could not exclude future diſcuſſion; it was the duty of the Miniſter to offer whatever he thought for the national advantage; by the Conſtitution, he could not be precluded from propoſing ſuch meaſures, it was his imperative duty, which he muſt diſcharge; had ſuch been the opinion, or ſuch the rule of Parliament, we ſhould not have the Britiſh Conſtitution. Were party cabal or party trick to influence his exerciſe of duty, we ſhould not enjoy that Conſtitution—for by the Britiſh Conſtitution the origination of great national meaſures is p'eaſed in

the Crown; had it been heretofore in the power of party cabal to reſiſt even the inveſtigation of ſuch meaſures, would that Conſtitution have been what it is? were a Britiſh Miniſter to be influenced by *Round Robins* and *Cabals*, by combinations, to withhold from men, on account of their political conduct, the bread due to their profeſſional labours, the Britiſh empire would not be in the glorious ſituation in which it now ſtood.—If this country, ſaid his Lordſhip, is to be governed by combination, it is brought to abſolute ruin. Governmen has been charged with diſmiſſing its ſervants for their political opinions: it is the right and privilege of Government to do ſo; the Britiſh Conſtitution does not conſider places under the Crown as mere annuities for the emolument of the poſſeſſors: it inveſts the Miniſter with the right of chooſing and diſmiſſing the ſervants of the Crown, to give weight and dignity to the Crown; and if the Miniſter muſt retain thoſe perſons who are hoſtile to his meaſures, becauſe ſuch is the will of a faction, the conſtitutional power of the Crown, and with it the Conſtitution itſelf, are at an end.—The ſame Conſtitution gives to Parliament a controul of the conduct of that Miniſter; to Parliament he is anſwerable for his conduct, not to faction; and Parliament is no longer Parliament if it has not energy ſufficient to controul the Miniſter. What kind of an oppoſition has been arranged againſt the meaſure diſcuſſed yeſterday? Do not gentlemen perceive the effort of intereſted party to form a cabal for private purpoſes?—Look to the oppoſition in Scotland againſt the ſame meaſure—compoſed exactly of the ſame materials: ſee who are the moſt active here—ſome of the very men who by attempting to degrade and vilify Parliament have given a pretext to traitors and rebels. What were the laſt words of the perſon now moſt forward, upon his ſeceding from the Houſe? "That the Parliament was ſo loſt to every conſtitutional principle, that he was aſhamed to continue to ſit in it, and therefore abandoned his duty:" This was his laſt expreſſion. What was the laſt effort of his public life? To aſſimilate the Parliament of Ireland to the Government of France, to carve out the country into French departments, and by a ſyſtem of repreſentation which had deſtroyed France, to introduce anarchy and maſſacre into this country. After failing in this project from the ſpirit and good ſenſe of Parliament, did he not ſhrink from the conteſt excited by his own principles and his own example? Have the loyal gentlemen, who now ſtrangely voted with him and his party, ſo forgotten all theſe circumſtances; have they ſo loſt the recollection of thoſe calamities, that they can look to him and his friends with confidence for the future Government of this country? It is impoſſible;—the phrenſy of a moment may have ſeduced them into ſuch ſtrange company; their returning good ſenſe will permit them to look upon it as it deſerves.—

Another deſcription of the opponents of this meaſure is of a very oppoſite kind indeed to that perſon and his friends:—They are the men, who, in the time of danger, ſtood forward like men to reſcue their country from the conſequences produced by thoſe who are now their allies. But thoſe men never can ſo far forget the common object—the connexion with Great Britain, (for which both of us are labouring, though with different opinions as to means) ſo far to diſgrace themſelves by acting with thoſe who wiſhed to debaſe Parliament and deſtroy their Conſtitution—let thoſe loyal gentlemen aſſure themſelves that they can never raiſe thoſe perſons to their own proud rank, though they may unhappily degrade themſelves to their level. Let them not be ſo hurried away by their feelings, as to entertain for a moment an idea that becauſe they happen to agree in this one point, a common co-operation with their enemies is neceſſary. Let them not be impoſed upon by the artifice of theſe inſinuations, that the meaſure is to be carried by a military force: it is a fraud practiſed upon their honeſty: it would be a wretched Government indeed, which would deſtroy the attached adherents of Monarchy by employing force or corruption to carry any meaſure, however advantageous in proſpect. Reſolved as I am, never to be deterred by cabal, from offering any meaſure to the diſcuſſion of Parliament, I never could embark in ſo abſurd a ſcheme as to conceive it poſſible to intimidate or corrupt the country into any meaſure whatever.—There have been in the courſe of debate inſinuations of a general nature, that Miniſters had employed illicit means to ſecure ſupport: I paſs them by as they deſerve, with contempt; but I have alſo heard particular circumſtances mentioned as facts, of ſo baſe and falſe a tenor, that I will trace them to the individual, be him who he may, from whom they originate, and force him to make a public diſavowal. I ſhall not delay the Houſe much longer, but before I ſit down, ſuffer me to deprecate that ſpecies of equivocal language which is neither altogether perſonal, or altogether parliamentary: if gentlemen conceive that any man on this ſide of the Houſe has done them perſonal injury, let them come forward and ſeek redreſs like men. If they wiſh to enter into perſonal conteſt, let them avow their wiſh and come forward like men; but let them not reſort to that kind of language, which is juſt ſo far ſhort of perſonal offence as to ſhelter them from perſonal chaſtiſement; let them not diſgrace Parliament by introducing that which has proved ſo fatal to the country—angry invective and illiberal perſonality.

Mr. G. Ponsonby ſaid, he once heard of a certain perſon who had been ſo bold as to tell the people of this country in that Houſe, that it was idle and ſilly in them to talk about ſubjects which they did not underſtand; though that ſubject was the

ſurrender of their Conſtitution and Liberty;—but he could not believe that even the bold inſolence of that man would venture to tell the majority of the Iriſh Houſe of Commons that they were dupes of faction; that they acted under the influence and management of factious men, when they refuſed to annihilate the Iriſh Parliament, and give up the independance of the country. How did the country gentlemen of Ireland feel on this? Are they tame enough to bear the imputation of being fools—inſtruments that are uſed by a few factious men for the worſt purpoſes? Would they ſubmit to ſuch a declaration from a young man, who had nothing to ſhield him from their contempt, but the office which he abuſed? Of what men was the body which oppoſed the Miniſter on this ſubject conſtituted? Certainly men of different political principles were to be found among them. —But was the Conſtitution of Ireland to be ſurrendered, becauſe there was a difference of opinion on ſome queſtions between thoſe who were unanimous on this? You, Mr. Speaker, ſaid he, are of that number—and, no doubt, it is the weakneſs of your mind which thus renders you the tool of party—or it is factions diſpoſition which has placed you at the head of that party. Where are the cabals and round-robin of which the Noble Lord ſpeaks? Is it in that profeſſion which is truly called the firſt profeſſion in the country; and in which are to be found men, to whom compared, the Noble Lord, in every point of view, is but a Puny Child? That profeſſion have this day declared unanimouſly that they will not accept of the office from which a Right Honourable Gentleman near him was diſmiſſed, becauſe he would not ſubmit his underſtanding and his conſcience to the will of the Noble Lord. Was that the reſult of intereſted faction? Had they been hunting for places, from which the Intemperate Folly of the Noble Lord had diſplaced the old and faithful ſervants of the Crown, his charge would have been founded; but acting as they had done, what honeſt man but muſt feel indignation at the aſperſions which were wantonly thrown on them? Did the Noble Lord know any thing of the Conſtitution?—If he did, muſt he not know that the Houſe of Commons have a right to adviſe the Miniſter; and that the People have a Right to expreſs their ſenſe of his meaſures? Did the Noble Lord already think himſelf an abſolute Monarch in Ireland; or that the King's ſervants held their places ſubject to him only, and ſo long as they agree with his meaſures? It was the duty of that Houſe to expreſs their ſenſe of public meaſures; and Parliament had often diſmiſſed the Miniſter for propoſing bad meaſures. But did the Noble Lord acquieſce in the opinion of the Houſe in this inſtance? No—he ſaid, indeed, he would not *now* puſh the meaſure; but he declared at the ſame time, that he would never loſe ſight of it. No thanks to the Noble Lord for now puſhing it, for he *could*

not carry it—thanks to the cabal; thanks to the virtue and ſpirit which had appeared both in and out of Parliament. But let the ſpirit of the Houſe or of the country ſlumber, and then we know from experience what uſe the Noble Lord will make of the favour of the Crown to force the meaſure on the country. Even then, he believed, the attempt would be unſucceſsful; but he would not leave it in the power of the Noble Lord to practiſe again in ſupport of the meaſure thoſe unconſtitutional arts which he knew he *had* practiſed. No; let the Noble Lord avow that he never will again propoſe to the country this abominable meaſure while he continues in office; let his friends adviſe him to this ſtep, the only one which can put the country at reſt. He would now addreſs himſelf to thoſe gentlemen who ſupported the meaſure; they were intereſted perhaps in ſupporting the Miniſter; but moſt of them muſt be more intereſted in the peace and proſperity of the country. He ſubmitted it then, whether their true intereſt did not call on them in this inſtance to oppoſe the Miniſter, and put to reſt a queſtion which cannot but agitate violently the public mind. It was not diſgraceful to recant an error; they might have miſ-reckoned on the ſentiment of the Houſe; they might not have known the ſenſe of the country; and they would not, as men of ſenſe, endanger the peace of the country, by keeping afloat a queſtion which it was already evident could not be carried.

Mr. Ponſonby then alluded to the charges of inconſiſtency which had been made againſt thoſe gentlemen who had ſeceded from Parliament in diſguſt, and now returned to it. He was one of them. He now found he miſcalculated the virtue of Parliament and the people. He regretted his miſtake; he now ſaw the gentlemen of that Houſe begin at laſt to ſee that their eſtates were better than their places: ſuch good ſenſe and honeſty in Parliament would lead to re-eſtabliſh the peace of the country. In the peace of the country alone was he intereſted; and to promote that, he would, day after day, preſs the Miniſter, until he forced him to make a full and formal renunciation of this dangerous and wicked meaſure.

Hon. D. Browne profeſſed that he never gave a vote in that Houſe which was more the reſult of honeſt conviction, or with which he was better ſatisfied than the one which he gave laſt night on the diſcuſſion of this queſtion: his ſentiments were not altered, and his vote would ſtill be the ſame. He could not but ſuſpect the motives of gentlemen who were for preventing a fair diſcuſſion of the meaſure on its own merits; for the only way to aſcertain the goodneſs or defects of a meaſure, was to give it a candid and diſpaſſionate conſideration. The judgment of any man would not be injured by exerciſe; and every Member of that

Houſe would be as free to reject the meaſure, implied in the paragraph now debated, after he had afforded a due conſideration to it, as before. After ſome further obſervations on the ſubject, not very remarkable for their novelty or application, he concluded by ſupporting the Addreſs as it ſtood.

Counſ. J. Beresford applauded the manly and honourable manner in which the Noble Lord (Caſtlereagh) had this night declared himſelf; that the Noble Lord had fairly declared, that he did not conſider the Houſe, by voting for the Addreſs as it ſtood, as binding the Houſe to ſupport the meaſure of an Union. The Addreſs barely pledged the Houſe to a conſideration of the ſubject. It came down to the Houſe, recommended for conſideration by our moſt gracious Sovereign, and on that account, at leaſt, merited conſideration. The unhappy feuds which had ſo long agitated this country, and converted it to a charnel-houſe, called for ſome effectual and extraordinary remedy: would the Houſe then reject without conſideration; would they preclude themſelves from hearing the Propoſitions ſuggeſted by the Father of his People, as a *panacea* for the diſorders of this diſtracted land? He deprecated that kind of imputation coming from gentlemen who oppoſed Miniſters on the laſt night's debate, charging on gentlemen who ſupported Miniſters on the principle of Union, the influence of private intereſt or corrupt motives. He ſpurned ſuch language with indignation; there was at leaſt as much honour, as much patriotiſm and independant principle amongſt thoſe who ſupported, as amongſt thoſe who oppoſed the principle of an Union; and in voting for that principle, as he ſhould this night, he ſhould feel himſelf entailing upon his country no diſgrace, by more cloſely and inſeparably connecting her with Great Britain, the miſtreſs of commerce, the protectreſs of Europe, and the admiration of the world.

Mr. Martin.—Mr. Speaker, I riſe to thank the Noble Lord for his declaration on cloſing the laſt debate on this ſubject, that he would not preſs the meaſure until the country had ſufficient time to be well informed on a ſubject of ſuch national importance; but I applaud the Noble Lord infinitely more for his declaration now, that he would take the firſt opportunity that occurred, after allowing a due time for a fair and liberal diſcuſſion every where. We have been told with great triumph by my friend the honourable Baronet, that ſince the year 1782, this country has afforded a perpetual ſcene of diſcontent;—Sir, I proteſt this is not, in my humble opinion, an argument againſt a Legiſlative Union: I think the reverſe. Since 1782, we are told that the nation has increaſed in agriculture, manufactures and trade; it is true, and yet this is no reaſon againſt a Legiſlative Union. Since that period, wealth has been more generally diffuſed through Ire-

land, than any other Country; the poor have grown rich, and there has arisen amongst us an agricultural yeomanry. If a country, Sir, that was poor, is increasing beyond example in its agriculture and its commerce, and yet becomes hourly discontented, and at last breaks out into open rebellion against all its constituted authorities; what is to be done? Will my honourable friend propose to desolate the land, and deprive them of all those benefits? We are told again, that Great Britain was in earnest, and sincere in the Adjustment that took place in 1782—she was; and and if she has changed her mind, it is, from the imperative situation of affairs; for those discontents we must look for some cause, that cause is faction. The mischievous trade and speculation of Parliament; it is a faction that has arisen within these walls; who labour incessantly, who see the woes of the nation so long only as the Minister has been unmindful of their own, and for the redress of them are so clamorous, that they "make the night joint labourer with the day." We are told by the honourable Baronet, that although Parliament had sunk for some time *a little* in his estimation; and although *he once thought* that some *little correction* by *reform* was necessary, yet that such was his *present confidence* in their *integrity* and *disinterested virtue*, that he was *very sure* that they would answer every beneficial purpose to the nation, without any such *harsh* correction. The honourable Gentleman next to the honourable Baronet spoke of *his confidence* in the Parliament, which Parliament *he abandoned* for their *incorrigible wickedness and corruption*. This change of sentiment, Mr. Speaker, has not been publicly avowed much above eight and forty hours; and you may best judge, Sir, whether there were any kind offices manifested at an earlier period to bring about so extraordinary a revolution in the moral frame. Now all this is no argument against a Legislative Union, but it is a very strong one for it. I appeal to the common recollection of the House, and to every corner of the kingdom, whether the leaders of this debate did not declare, that the refusal of a Parliamentary Reform was the cause of every misery the country sustained, and finally of the Rebellion. Did any, and which of them declare, that he would never accept any office under any Administration, nor support any Government that did not adopt the plan of specific Reform, which he submitted to them? Now, Sir, I ask the nation, if the refusal of Parliamentary Reform was the cause of all that has been asserted; (and I think it greatly contributed to it) and that that is to be persevered in, how is the country to be saved? There wants none to this tissue but one absurdity, which is this, that those gentlemen who are become the instruments of this faction, and who left the honourable Mover in a Minority of Seven, should now declare, that they had in turn changed their opinions, and would support that very Reform which

they rejected with indignation; let us now ſee, what means the gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe have to propoſe to ſave the country, other than that of *ruling* it; which ſome think would *not ſave it*. Even until this moment one party declared, that the refuſing to puriſy the Parliament was the cauſe, the ſole cauſe of every calamity; another diviſion of this ſame party declared, that the factious declamations, and the induſtry with which they taught the people to clamour for what they could not comprehend, and what could adminiſter no remedy to the evils they affected to cure, was the true, legitimate and only cauſe of theſe calamities. On all hands it is admitted that *ſomething muſt be done*. The gentlemen on the other ſide condemn *as ruin*, not only the *adopting* a Legiſlative Union with Great Britain, but the *conſidering* or *underſtanding* the ſubject before we determine not to entertain it. This *ſomething* then, is the Legiſlative Union which we are confident to hope may be ſo ſhaped by the wiſdom of the two countries, as to prove a true and laſting remedy for thoſe miſeries we have all lamented. We have ſhewn *our plan*; if it is condemned, let all thoſe gentlemen who ſo confidently cenſure, what they diſdain to conſider, and who are ſo deſirous to commit their minority, who almoſt conſtitute the majority of this Houſe, againſt the meaſure; we call upon upon them to produce *their plan*, which, if found better, will be the beſt condemnation of ours: and I promiſe them for one, I ſhall be the firſt to ſubſcribe it. What, Sir! Is it to ſave the country, to criticiſe with a jealous minuteneſs every plan offered by thoſe who are *really intereſted* in its ſalvation, and with a cautious policy, more *cautious* than *honeſt*, to withhold any propoſition of their own? We have ſhewn to the world our caſe; ſome of them are lawyers, and I call upon them to ſhew a better title than the Noble Lord has done, to the gratitude of the nation. They remind me of the humorous ſtory of a modern Traveller, who relates that his companion never paſſed the ſtatue of Jupiter without a courtly obeiſance; and, as not quite ſure of a ſudden reſtoration to the ſuperintending care of the Capitol, *as* regularly attended the reigning power at the Vatican.—If our Conſtitution ſtands, and may it ſtand for ever! they have avowed nothing ſo monſtrous as to be excluded from its bleſſings. If it falls, and is reduced to the firſt chaotic principles, ſome may hope, like what is lighteſt and vileſt, to float upon the ſurface.

But, Mr. Speaker, we are told that England will afterwards have a right to levy every arbitrary Tax upon this Country to its utter ruin; and the diſſemination of this folly has deluded many perſons out of this Houſe to diſapprove the meaſure. I tell the Hon. Gentlemen on the other ſide, and I deſire to be contradicted if I am wrong, That the terms of the Union may ſecure to this Country the quantum of Taxation which it ſhall be poſſible

for the united Parliaments in Britain to levy. The rate of taxes here may be after the Union infinitely leſs than they are at preſent.

An Hon. Gentleman not in his place, has told you Sir, that Gentlemen who prefer their eſtates to their places, will vote againſt this meaſure. I have no office, and I prefer my eſtate to the income of any three of the proudeſt offices in the Country, and therefore ſhall vote for taking this meaſure into conſideration. We hear that no one argument has been uſed in favour of any plan of Legiſlative Union, now here is one that I have not heard.—By an Union England and Ireland will be made in effect one Country, and England muſt then uſe the ſame exertions to ſave the county of Mayo, as ſhe would do to protect Suſſex. It is ſaid, in any event ſhe will protect Ireland—ſhe will undoubtedly; but there is a greater effort which England will exert after the Union even by *ſtaking her own* fate with *ours*. This is an argument and I rely upon it as ſuch. Have we not heard, that when the French landed at Bantry bay, England over-looked our ſecurity and was indifferent to our fate, and it became the ſubject of Parliamentary enquiry; we heard it from the hon. and learned Gentleman moſt forward in the Debate. Now Sir, if this calumny on the character of Great Britain weighs with no other Gentleman, it muſt with the Hon. Member who uſed the argument as a motive for conſidering the propriety of a Legiſlative Union. We are told a Union will degrade the Nation. Hear the anſwer, and it is a ſhort one. If Ireland Sir, be united to England, England muſt be united to us; now, it is not pretended it can degrade England, and yet if it degrades one it muſt both; ſo the true and only concluſion is, that it degrades neither. The Hon. Baronet is diſpoſed to forget the original ſin ariſing from the very formation of Parliament and the corruptions of its members in this one act of diſintereſted virtue. Has Parliament no intereſt in voting againſt this Union? Alas! Sir, they have much more *than their conſtituents*; but they have many county members. On the calculation of intereſt they muſt have *thirty one*, that is the number which it is ſuppoſed will be excluded from the Union Parliament; but they ought to have more, for in many inſtances, the collegue who is excluded, will by uniting his intereſt with ſome other perſon, exclude the Member who ſhould vote for the Union; and this argument might in very many inſtances apply to both the County Members. Many of the great borough proprietors are againſt this meaſure; have they no intereſt in oppoſing it? Is it nothing to weigh in golden ſcales the fate of every Adminiſtration coming into this Country? Is it *no power* to be able to abuſe power, to expel two Lord Lieutenants for endeavouring to reſcue the Conſtitution, and turn to flight one Commander in Chief, Sir R. Abercrombie, who never fled in battle, becauſe he differed from them—becauſe he ſaid the

diſcipline in ſome part of the army was relaxed? He diſapproved of burning houſes and of free-quarters; and the borough proprietors choſe to have both. Are theſe matters fact? if ſo, they cannot recur frequently, and the *nation exiſt*; and yet, the Gentlemen on the other ſide, who once rent almoſt the vault of Heaven in their complaints, have now no remedy but ſubmiſſion; yet, Mr. Speaker, this is the language of this night, and after ſuch language can the Union continue to be unpopular?—It cannot, it ſhall not. For example: Galway a town juſtly dear to me, has ſuddenly prejudged the meaſure. In truth, Sir, the diſcuſſion of this ſubject in Parliament is what muſt and will decide the public mind. I will now engage to meet the Hon. Gentleman before his conſtituents and to convince them, and to poll them and the population of the town againſt him on this intereſting ſubject. But the Hon. Gentleman ſays it is unpopular; that indeed is an argument, if after due conſideration it ſhall continue to be ſo. But I am happy to think, that the worthy Baronet's conſtituents may change their opinion of this meaſure, as they did regarding himſelf and his collegue; I underſtand they now think moſt favourably of both. My hon. friend muſt know, that when public opinion ſets him higheſt, it is that ſentiment to which I would moſt willingly ſubſcribe. The beſt meaſures, however, were at firſt unpopular: The Octennial bill was in this Houſe unpopular. The Adminiſtration of the Country once offered to ſupport a tax upon Abſentees; would that, Mr. Speaker, have been a good meaſure or not? This meaſure was oppoſed and loſt, and ſome of thoſe very Gentlemen who but a ſeſſion ago oppoſed a meaſure that would bring home our Abſentees, now principally clamour againſt the Union on the ground that it will occaſion ſome Abſentees.—There was another meaſure greatly unpopular in the nation, which originated in the Duke of Portland's Adminiſtration; I mean ſencible regiments for the protection of Ireland: I think, Mr. Speaker, ſuch a defence would have been at leaſt as conſtitutional as regiments of the line or alien troops ſubſidiſed. There have been even characters, Sir, very generally and univerſally odious, that have on a particular occaſion become popular; ſo that popularity, Mr. Speaker, though ſome teſt is not always a ſure one.—Is it not an argument for the Union to ſay, that the power of the Lord Lieutenant of this Country is abſolute as to evil, but circumſcribed as to good? That we have the theory of the Engliſh Conſtitution is our boaſt; that we have abuſed it is our reproach.—Is the 36th and 37th of the preſent reign an abuſe of it? Is the Preſs bill, which while it ſet at nought the liberty of the preſs, refuſes to recognize that that liberty is a conſtitutional right? Is *this* the Conſtitution? What ſhall I ſay of three Indemnity bills in four years, protecting every magiſtrate and every ſoldier for all the enormities which in-

that time have been perpetrated, from a common aſſault up to murder and petty treaſon?

Mr. DOBBS—Sir there is one thing, and one thing only, in which I agree with the three Members who ſpoke laſt, on the oppoſite ſide. It is Sir, in reprobating with them all perſonality. But Sir perſonality has not been confined to this ſide of the Houſe, it will however I truſt in future be diſcarded by all: and here Sir I cannot help obſerving, that were I to ſay any thing perſonal of the Noble Lord, who is the firſt Miniſter here, it would be favourable to him. In a tranſaction of ſome importance during the laſt Seſſion, I had frequent intercourſe with the Noble Lord, and I found his manners pleaſing, and what is more to his honour, his heart humane. I found him bent as he ought to be, to do what juſtice demanded, but at the ſame time to temper that juſtice with mercy. Sir I am ſorry the Noble Lord has thought proper to make an attack on the Barriſters of Ireland; a body of men I will venture to ſay more truly patriotic, than any other in the Nation unleſs it be the preſent Houſe of Commons. We indeed have it in our power to take precedence, and I truſt we have not only the power but the will. Sir the conduct of the Iriſh Barriſters has more than once been inſtrumental in ſaving the Nation. They were among the foremoſt of the glorious volunteers of 1780, 1781 and 1782, who at once gave peace and ſecurity at home, and protected us from foreign invaſion, when the fleets of England hid themſelves in their ports, and the French and Spaniſh fleets rode triumphant in the Britiſh Channel. The Barriſters of Ireland originated the yeomanry to whom this country chiefly owes its preſent ſalvation. The Barriſters of Ireland originated the oppoſition to this intended Union that would at once degrade, and deſtroy a kingdom. But Sir it is not wonderful that men of birth, education and talent, ſhould be the protectors of the rights of their country. I ſay Sir for the moſt part of birth, for I will venture to aſſert, there is not a family in Ireland of 1000l. a year that has not a near relative at the Bar. I ſay Sir of talent, for every man in looking to the line of life, his children are to purſue, ſelects that ſon whom he ſuppoſes poſſeſſed of the beſt abilities, for the profeſſion of the law; and here too Sir let me obſerve, that where men have not the advantage of birth or fortune, it muſt be by ſuperior talents indeed, that they make their way through the difficulties attending the firſt commencement of the legal profeſſion. Let me not then hear again, a reflection on a body of men, that are the pride and ornament of their country,

Sir a Rt. Hon. Gentleman on the oppoſite Bench has ſaid, he will vote for the Addreſs becauſe he thinks it indecent not to give the queſtion of a ſpecific Union a fair diſcuſſion. What Sir

are we to go into the minutiæ of a Union, when the queſtion that has been lately debated for twenty-one hours, and is now again debating, is, whether we will have a Union at all? Sir the Rt. Hon. Gentleman cannot doubt the meaning of the words of the clauſe in debate, as to the connexion between the two countries, becauſe the Miniſter himſelf has avowed it is a Legiſlative Union. Sir another honourable member, who openly avows his approbation of a Legiſlative Union, argues that it will benefit our trade, ſtrengthen the connexion between the two countries, and give us permanent tranquillity. I did on the laſt debate endeavour to point out to you Sir, and to the Houſe, that in point of trade England has nothing to beſtow, and I offered to produce ſome of the moſt reſpectable merchants of Dublin at your Bar, to ſubſtantiate the fact. Sir I did on the laſt debate endeavour to point out to you and to the Houſe, that ſo far from ſtrengthening the connexion, it would lead to inevitable ſeparation. Sir I did in the laſt debate endeavour to point out to you, and to the Houſe, that it would weaken the ſtrength of the loyaliſts, and enable the republican to triumph over the Conſtitution. Sir I will not take up the time of the Houſe, in going over the arguments, I have before offered, but ſhall content myſelf with aſſerting that a Legiſlative Union cannot benefit our trade,—cannot ſtrengthen the connexion between the two countries,—and cannot give us permanent tranquillity.

Sir there is but one way to tranquilliſe Ireland, it is to redreſs every real grievance and put an end to every religious diſſenſion. Let no man flatter himſelf, that Ireland has been hitherto governed as it ought. I would aſk no other evidence to prove the contrary, than the Reports of both Houſes of Parliament in the laſt Seſſions. What Sir, but radical errors in the Government, could make 400,000 men take an oath againſt the Conſtitution? Sir, I love the Britiſh form of Government, though I hate its perverſion, and abominate its tyranny towards Ireland. Sir I love Iriſh freedom, but I hate Iriſh treaſon, and Iriſh ſedition. Sir I revere the Chriſtian Religion, but I deteſt bigotry, and perſecution wherever I find it, whether it be amongſt thoſe of the Eſtabliſhment, the Diſſenters or the Catholics.

Sir the commencement of this Seſſion has afforded me infinite pleaſure. Nay Sir, the ſentiments that have lately been delivered here, ſeem to have operated on me as a ſalutary medicine. I have for the greater part of the laſt ten days been confined to my houſe by indiſpoſition. But the ſpirit diſplayed here on the laſt debate has revived me, and I hope by the determination of this night to be reſtored to health and vigour.

Sir, if there be three men upon earth to whom Ireland is peculiarly indebted, it is Mr. Pitt, the Noble Lord who is firſt Miniſter here, and the author of that Pamphlet which iſſued from,

and is acknowledged by the Caſtle. Sir, till now it was only ſuſpicion, that a plan had been formed, to reduce Ireland into the ſituation of a province. But from the declarations of the three I have alluded to, ſuſpicion terminates in certainty; for the Noble Lord has in his place declared, that it was a meaſure that would never be loſt ſight of, till it was carried. Sir we have now full notice of Britiſh intention and Britiſh determination. We alſo know Sir, that it has been held out in the pamphlet I allude to, that a Union ſhould be accompanied with certain benefits, to the Catholics, to the Diſſenters, and to the People at large. What Sir, ſhall we allow England to purchaſe our People by favours, which we have equally the power to beſtow? Sir I ſay if there is common ſenſe in this Houſe; if there is common ſpirit among us, we will ſhew to the People, that we are not a venal, a debaſed, a profligate Houſe of Commons; we will ſhew to the People that we have been vilified and abuſed by the author of the Caſtle pamphlet; and we will ſhew to the People that we are the true and legitimate guardians of Iriſh happineſs, Iriſh proſperity, and Iriſh liberty.

Sir, the preſent attempt would never have been made, were the People of this country united in affection to each other, and at the ſame time ſatisfied with their Government. What then is the path that we are to purſue? It is this, decidedly this, to carefully examine the ſources of diſcontent, and diſſatisfaction, and do them away. I will not Sir at this moment, take upon me to ſay, what it is we ought to do; but this I aſſert without heſitation, that we ſhould give to the People every thing, that is conſiſtent with the preſervation of our preſent Conſtitution, and our preſent connexion with Great Britain. Theſe Sir, are the only bonndaries that I draw between what the People can demand, and what the Iriſh Legiſlature can beſtow.

Mr. Holmes obſerved, that he ſhould not apologiſe to qualify the vote he was about to give—his conduct was owing to the deciſion of his mind—it was truly aſtoniſhing, he ſaid, that from the ſame data concluſions ſo oppoſite could be drawn. The Houſe, he was bold to ſay, was competent to every thing; and, when it would come before the Houſe, he would be prepared to meet it. By ſuch a conduct, as gentlemen ſeemed willing to purſue, the Addreſs would probably be loſt.

Mr. I. M. O'Donnell.—It would have been well worth the attention of the Iriſh Miniſter, who ſeems to have made the ruin of his country his neareſt and dearеſt object, to have ſuppreſſed, previous to having brought forward this favourite and infamous meaſure, all ſuch books as this I now hold in my hand, the 5th vol. of Parliamentary Debates. Much pains have been uſed in England and Ireland, to prevent the circulation of all ſuch books

as would enlighten the underſtanding or teach men to prefer their country to their private intereſt. I ſhall in the courſe of delivering my ſentiments this night, not only be much influenced from what I have read in this book, but I ſhall uſe in ſupport of the Conſtitution of my country the very words ſpoken by a Rt. Hon. Gentleman oppoſite me, who now differs from what he formerly ſupported, a Gentleman whom I looked to as a pattern of private worth and political integrity. But Sir, before I quote from this ineſtimable volume, I muſt addreſs you in my own irregular and accuſtomed way: In oppoſing a Legiſlative Union I hope, I am confident, I have expreſſed the ſincere and determined ſentiments of my conſtituents, but as to a *Rt.* Hon. Gentleman, who *miſrepre*; I mean repreſents me in this Houſe as Member for Mayo, I thank God I have an opportunity of thus publicly declaring for myſelf, and I am confident for a majority of my brethren the freeholders of *Mayo*, that in his ſupport of an Union he is not acting in uniſon with our wiſhes, nor has he conſulted us on the occaſion. Sir the Rt. Hon. Gentleman wiſhes as he has often attempted to do before, to play a double fiddle, Both Sides of the Gutter, it is a deep game; it is a dangerous one; he will find it an unſucceſsful one, when he ſhall find himſelf rejected by his country, he will be publicly deſpiſed by the very Miniſter whom he ſtrives to ſupport even by the ruin of his country, but ſee how can this Rt. Hon. Gentleman reconcile to himſelf or his conſtituents his preſent conduct, his voting for a ſurrender of the Legiſlative rights of Ireland, to his conduct and ſtrong language at the time of the debate on the Commercial Propoſitions, at that time when the independance of his country was only ſquinted at; when the Miniſter of the day and his friends declared, that it could not be affected by the 4th Propoſition, what was his language then? I will repeat it, for I now ſee him in his place. On the 2d of Auguſt 1785, on the debate on the Iriſh Propoſitions, the Rt. Hon. Gentleman ſaid, "but Sir this arrangement has ſuggeſted an idea "in another country, that I am afraid to mention in *this* Houſe; "*I mean a Union*, Good God Sir, what Union could we have "with Great Britain but a Union of debt and taxation! a "Union depriving us of liberty and ruinous to our country," thoſe expreſſions reflected on him then immortal honour, what do they now? Eternal diſgrace. Sir, I will be bold to ſay that the great majority of the freeholders of Mayo are averſe to the meaſure, at any rate I am convinced they do not imagine that their repreſentatives have a right to vote away their freedom, even inſtructed for that purpoſe. Sir I love the connexion with England as well as the Rt. Hon. Gentleman; when my country was in danger, when the connexion was attacked by a foreign and internal force, while ſome were ſleeping, others trembling and ſome running from their country, I was running to defend it, and I

would do ſo this moment did the ſlighteſt neceſſity require it, but I will never vote for, nor will I ſuffer to be voted away, a ſurrender of the right of imperial Ireland, but I muſt excuſe the Rt. Hon. Gentleman, for he ſays "he is forced to ſpeak, but not by "his own inclination," how far that will ſatisfy his conſtituents I know not, as to the remarks and contradictions that the Rt. Hon. Gentleman has offered to the obſervations of the Hon. Baronet *(Sir L. Parſons)* as to our having ſurrendered for ever to Great Britain the right and power of making or appointing a King for Ireland, I do aſſert we have done ſo, for ſhould the Parliament of England and the King think fit to change the ſucceſſion to the Crown of Great Britain to any other perſon or family, we are bound thereby, and the King of England ſo appointed, would be *ipſo facto* King of Ireland, without any further recognition of our Parliament, for we have already provided it ſo, it is a part and a neceſſary part of our compact.

The noble lord, the oſtenſible miniſter, has thought proper to arraign the conduct of a body of men, who let me tell his lordſhip, ſtand on too proud and ſtable a foundation to be injured either by his praiſe or his cenſure. I mean the Bar, that reſpectable body who have ſaved this kingdom, it is to this ſet of men he has applied the gentleman-like word or epithet of *petty-fogging*; but that is a trifle to the noble lord in attacking thoſe, who dare oppoſe his projects, his deep, yet ill laid plans for Iriſh ſubjection; he tells the *country* gentlemen of Ireland, that they are *dupes* that have joined in cabal and party trick, and that they have aſſociated with democrats, ſeceders from their parliamentary duty and men who aim at the overthrow of the conſtitution, in the two diſtinctions made by the Noble Lord of us who oppoſe this meaſure. He has pointed out ſome as Democrats who failed in their attempt to overturn the Conſtitution, the others as loyal men, who in the hour of danger ſtepped forward in ſupport and defence of their King and Country. The minority on the laſt night amounted to 105; there never were ſeceders from this Houſe in number 15. Give me leave to aſk the Noble Lord, and I appeal to this Houſe, what an infamous meaſure muſt that be, propoſed by the Miniſter, which forced 90 acknowledged and tried loyal men to join with thoſe ſeceders, what a dangerous meaſure muſt it not be which unites men of ſuch diſcordant principles together for the defence of the country! That the Crown has a power to diſmiſs its Servants I will not deny, but I aſſert this Houſe has a power and it is a duty incumbent on it, to interfere and call the Miniſter to an account if he ſhall exerciſe that power for an unconſtitutional purpoſe, as has been done in the diſmiſſal of the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Prime Serjeant. I declare Mr. Speaker, I do feel infinite regret at ſee-

ing a meaſure of this ſort brought forward under the Adminiſtration of a Nobleman I ſo fully reſpect—a Nobleman who has already, in ſpite of every effort to oppoſe him, nearly tranquilliſed Ireland, who ſatisfied and appeaſed *India* more by character than by arms, and has afforded Mr. Bacon an opportunity of uniting genius and truth in a ſtatue of Lord Cornwallis, ſheathing his ſword with one hand and with the other pouring the *cornucopia* of plenty over the nations of India. I am confident that Noble Lord has been deceived as to the wiſhes and determination of the people of Ireland on this ſubject. I will candidly ſay, I am certain the Miniſter in this Houſe was deceived, elſe he never could have proceeded on this extraordinary, this important attempt to revolutioniſe this country. For my part I never deceived the government, from the firſt I ſaid it was a meaſure I would oppoſe, that it was fraught with miſchief to the kingdom, and muſt be ruinous to the Empire, that no honeſt Iriſhman could exiſt without oppoſing it, and that would anſwer the wiſhes and deſires of the ſeparatiſts and republicans, if Government would attempt to ſupport the abominable meaſure.

The Attorney General has thought proper on a former night to bring forward in ſupport of this Union, the writings of the greateſt friend that the liberties of Ireland ever had, I need not ſay I mean *William Molyneux*, it is not the firſt time that patriot has been inſulted by an inſolent law officer of the Crown, I believe his book was once burned by the common hangman, why? Becauſe it vindicated the rights and ſupported the Legiſlative independance of Ireland. Under the ſituation Ireland *then was in*, bound and fettered by England, he thought an Union was a deſirable thing and that England would not grant it, but were he now alive ſeeing us poſſeſſed of independance and commerce, neither of which could be taken from us but by our own act, he would be the firſt to call forth every energy of a free people, to defend their rights, and would tell them, that where they were attacked, it was legal, nay it was in the light of heaven neceſſary, to have recourſe *to firſt principles* to protect and ſupport them. I have felt it neceſſary to ſay ſo much, as well in vindication of the character of the dead, as to ſatisfy the feelings of a living relative of his, to whom I have the honour to be connected of the ſame; an inheritor of his private virtues, fully equal to him both in loyalty and patriotiſm; a man who could never be drawn into the vortex of cabal or faction, or ſeduced from his duty to his country by the glitter or ſeduction of a court, who in the hour of danger forgetful of eaſe and wealth, underwent every fatigue and riſque in defence of his King, little imagining the Conſtitution of Ireland would be ſo ſoon attacked, I now talk of *Sir Capel Molyneux*, who has on this very occaſion been amongſt the foremoſt to appriſe his coun-

try of its danger and to call them to *their posts*. Let me now addreſs myſelf to the Noble Lord, I have endeavoured to oppoſe this meaſure without being perſonal, I reſpect his private character, I am an avowed friend to the Adminiſtration in which he holds ſo oſtenſible and ſo honourable a ſituation. It is more than probable, that on every other queſtion he will have my ſupport. I belong to no party; I belong to no cabal, nor to any intrigue, nor am I a dupe. Let me entreat the Noble Lord, as he values the peace and happineſs of his country, every thing dear to him as a Miniſter and a man, candidly and avowedly to come forward and declare he abandons and wholly gives up a meaſure which is ſo oppoſite to the wiſhes and intereſts of the kingdom; that he will not keep it ſuſpended over our heads, to keep alive the fermentation of the public mind, which had it not been for this meaſure would have now been quieted. I invoke him not to keep this odious deteſted meaſure ſuſpended over our heads by a ſingle hair, to be cut at his will or that of any other Miniſter.

Mr. O'Donnel concluded a very long ſpeech with many very appoſite quotations, from the ſpeeches of Members who ſupported the Conſtitutional rights of Ireland in 1785 on the debate of the Iriſh Propoſitions, but who conſented to ſurrender them on the debate for an Union in 1799.

In the courſe of his ſpeech Mr. O'Donnel went largely into the queſtion of the Scotch Union, paid many compliments to that Nation, and to the gallant conduct of their ſoldiers, and particularly mentioned the brave and ſoldierlike conduct of the Frazer Fencibles, who he ſaid were brave in the field and accommodating in quarters, but ſhewed in the cleareſt manner that there was no argument to be drawn from the Scotch Union, favourable to the propoſed one between Great Britain and Ireland.

Lord CASTLEREAGH roſe to explain, and to aſſure the Right Hon. Member, nothing was farther from his wiſhes than to throw any aſperſions on the profeſſion. In the courſe of his ſpeech he had uſed the word "petty-fogging," but not in application to the Bar; it was a vulgar phraſe, and he was aſhamed of it.

Mr. EDGEWORTH alſo roſe to vindicate the profeſſion, which he could not help ſaying, had not been well treated by the noble Lord. It was peculiarly proper in that noble Lord to inculcate temper on the Houſe, whoſe official ſituation gave him ſo many advantages over other gentlemen, but it was peculiarly improper in him to have forgotten his own precept, and held out an example of heat and violence. The expreſſion which he repeated in order to give the noble Lord an opportunity to recall it, (for he could not conceive that with ſo many high law-officers near

him he meant to inſult the profeſſion) was the phraſe, "Round Robin." Which means a *mutinous demand made by men aſhamed to avow themſelves the promoters of it.* Did the noble Lord believe that any of the gentlemen to whom he alluded, were aſhamed to avow themſelves. The meeting was conducted by a gentleman who was the Father of the Bar—was not he an oſtenſible patron of the meaſure which they had adopted? Mr. Edgeworth proceeded to ſay many handſome things of the profeſſion, to which he avowed himſelf to have been bred. He confeſſed that when firſt the meaſure of an Union was mentioned he was a friend to it: but when he found the ſenſe of the nation againſt it, he changed his determination.—On great political queſtions the truſtees of the people will neceſſarily reſort to the opinion of their conſtituents.—To us it ſhould be ſufficient to perceive that the majority of the people of this kingdom are averſe to a Legiſlative Union. It is ſometimes difficult to determine what conſtitutes a majority; it may be of two ſorts, either of numbers or of property.—Where theſe differ, a Member of this Houſe, who is a man of prudence and integrity, muſt be decided by concurrent circumſtances:—but when theſe coincide, there can be no doubt how a delegated Legiſlator ſhould conduct himſelf.—The majority both of property and numbers coincide upon the preſent occaſion.—It would be invidious to aſſert that moſt of the property and the talents of this Houſe are on this ſide, but when the arguments that have been advanced, and the names on each ſide ſhall be laid before the public, they would determine for themſelves. Conſidering theſe circumſtances, Mr. Edgeworth ſaid he could not conceive that the Miniſter would perſiſt in the meaſure, and if not, to what end perſiſt in retaining the obnoxious paragraph? Were Gentlemen aſhamed to avow themſelves in error when the Nation was againſt them? If ſo, he ought to be aſhamed. Is there any thing diſgraceful in yielding to conviction?—if ſo, he muſt ſubmit to that diſgrace. He was convinced that ſuch a meaſure, urged againſt the ſenſe or the feelings of the nation, would be ruinous and unjuſtifiable.—The oppoſition to this meaſure is not the oppoſition merely of a *cabal.*—Mr. Edgeworth ſaid he did not mean to catch at the word *cabal*, for the country gentlemen of Ireland ought not to follow the example of intemperance and indiſcretion which the noble Lord had ſet them; but if the Miniſter was determined to preſs this meaſure againſt their ſenſe and that of the country, he hoped theſe gentlemen would unite againſt him and form *one* body, and then they would be able effectually to fruſtrate any attempt of his, or of any *cabal of penſioners and placemen.* This meaſure, he jocularly obſerved, was beginning to make country gentlemen of more importance than they had been. Formerly, he ſaid, a country member might come into Parlia-

ment and sit there for years before his face or name was known—now they are likely to become a very valuable commodity; and if the measure were retained much longer they would rise in price. He therefore recommended it to the Minister for his own sake to let the question rest.—He humorously remarked that much as had been said of the Minister's arts of corruption, they did not stand high in his opinion; he could not compliment the Minister upon his address in this branch of his business. Mr. Edgeworth said he, could not boast of having, upon this occasion, withstood seductive temptation; not even the offer of a peerage had been made to *him*; *his* political virtue remained therefore immaculate, for it is allowed on all hands that the nymph is chaste who has never been tried.—To be serious: he rejoiced to see that on great constitutional questions the business of party stopped in that House; and, that though gentlemen speculated with the Minister on other occasions, on these they acted practically with the people. Ireland, he thought, owed great obligations to the Minister and his friends, for they had shewn, not only to her, but to Great-Britain, that she possesses a Bar honest, independant, and energetic, above the temptations of emolument or ambition.—They had shewn that she had a Parliament, which, however its members might, at some times, be diverted from a vigilant discharge of their duty, was, upon great occasions, awake and vigorous to preserve their independance:—The spectacle of this night, he trusted, would convince a neighbouring nation, that, whatever defects there might be in our national character, arising perhaps from constitutional vivacity, the people of Ireland possessed warm hearts and sound heads.—An honourable friend had complained, that it was ungenerous to attack this nation when she was nearly prostrate, and breathless after the violent struggles to which she had lately been exposed.—For his part, Mr. Edgeworth said, he had never seen any persons more alert and alive than the gentlemen at this side of the House appeared to be at this instant; and if they were thus awake and vigorous after the fatigues occasioned by a Rebellion, what must they be at any other period?—Men of the most dissimilar habits, of the most opposite parties have, on this emergency, united in one common cause; those materials which, when separate, had not sufficient attraction for each other, began to consolidate when pressed together by external circumstances.—The Minister might, perhaps, find it dangerous to protract the present state of unanimity. Time might, perhaps, consolidate the scattered country gentlemen of this kingdom, and give them, as a body, that consequence which they ought to possess under such a Constitution as ours.

A really wise Administration would seize this crisis to tranquillise the country.—When the vessel of the state makes no way,

it will not anſwer to the helm.—When the veſſel is in rapid motion it will ſteer, and may, by a ſkilful pilot, be at length conducted to ſecurity.—An able Miniſter might, by a prudent uſe of this happy opportunity, reconcile the diſſenſions of this country, and make Iriſhmen ſhake hands with Iriſhmen.

Sir BOYLE ROCHE conſidered faction as the ſource of paſt, and the ſeeds of preſent diſſenſion in this country, which nothing could effectually eradicate but an Union, which had his moſt cordial concurrence. Colliſions on the ſcore of independance had already happened, but how frequently between the Parliaments of the two kingdoms, ſince 1782, and particularly on the Regency buſineſs, when a parliamentary faction had *riſked*, and be very believed *wiſhed* the ſeparation of the two kingdoms, by breaking the main link of the chain by which they were connected—namely, the unity and identity of the Executive Branch of the Conſtitution.

Mr. St. GEORGE DALY obſerved that this laſt ſentiment of the Hon. Gentleman came from the Preſs, where he remembered to have ſeen it almoſt verbatim in the Hon. Gentleman's words.—He ſaid inſinuations had been thrown out againſt the motives of gentlemen on his ſide of the Houſe; he deſpiſed them; one gentleman had ſaid he juſt came from a meeting of the Bar, who voted thanks, and reſolved to give precedence to a Right Hon. Gentleman who had been diſmiſſed from office; that might have been proper, but the Hon. Gentleman went farther, and ſaid they were ready to declare any man a traitor to his country who ſhould accept the office. What arrogance could induce any gentleman to attribute this diſhonourable and illiberal ſentiment to the Iriſh Bar. He was convinced they were incapable of it—they knew that a man might accept the office without diſhonour—and if they did not, he would deſpiſe them. This practice to attributing unworthy motives to gentlemen was not to be borne. The gentlemen on the other ſide of the Houſe ſhall not do it; if they throw out ſuch inſinuations they muſt name the man—gentlemen ſhould not be bullied! With reſpect to the queſtion, he ſhould only ſay he remained of the ſame mind in which he was yeſterday, and ſo ſhould remain till his underſtanding was convinced. It was baſe to be bribed—very baſe—but it was baſer to make the charge, when it was known to be falſe.

Mr. PONSONBY roſe to vindicate himſelf from what he conceived a perſonal attack by Mr. Daly; but the cry of ſpoke! ſpoke! from the other ſide was ſo loud that he could not proceed.

The SPEAKER interfered—and ſaid, that if Mr. Ponſonby roſe only to explain, he had a right to be heard—but if he meant to go beyond mere explanation, the Houſe muſt give him leave.

The cry of ſpoke! continuing, Mr. TRENCH moved, that Mr. Ponſonby be permitted to ſpeak a ſecond time.

Lord CASTLEREAGH was for giving him leave to reply to a perſonal application, but inſiſted he could not go into a general anſwer without expreſs permiſſion.

Mr. C. OSBORNE oppoſed the motion for hearing Mr. Ponſonby—he ſaid there were ſeveral gentlemen who had been up ten or twelve times and could not meet the eye of the Chair.—Mr. Ponſonby had already delivered his ſentiments twice on this ſubject—and he did not wiſh to hear him any more.

The motion was carried almoſt unanimouſly.

Mr. PONSONBY ſaid, that no man who had the feelings of a gentleman would refuſe to do that which the Houſe had now almoſt unanimouſly done, when a perſonal attack had called on a Member to riſe. It was ſaid that he arrogated to himſelf in ſaying, that the Bar of Ireland were ready to declare any man an enemy to his country who would accept the office lately filled by a Right Hon. Gentleman. This was the firſt time he had ever heard a gentleman make a private converſation the ſubject of a parliamentary attack. God forbid that he ſhould arrogate to himſelf the right of ſpeaking the ſenſe of the Bar—he was a very humble member of that body, and was happy to follow their ſpirit. He claimed no honour but that of defending them againſt their calumniator. Whether he had ſaid the Bar was ready to come to ſuch a reſolution as the Hon. Gentleman had mentioned he could not ſay—for he kept no regiſter of his private converſations—but he was convinced he might ſay ſo with truth—and he appealed to many gentlemen who heard him and were preſent at that meeting, whether the general ſenſe of the Bar did not appear to be ſo, and whether they were not reſtrained from doing ſo by the advice of one or two gentlemen, who thought it wiſe rather to confine them to the expreſſion of their eſteem and thanks to the Right Hon. Gentleman and others, for their conduct on this queſtion. But the Hon. Gentleman ſays, that gentlemen are not to be bullied! I would have the Hon. Gentleman know, that neither ſhall any man on this ſide of the Houſe be bullied—and though it be a word he was not much in the habit of uſing, he muſt ſay he felt the moſt perfect *contempt* for the threats of that Hon. Gentleman.

I then declared my opinion, that the deciſion of this Houſe, as to a Legiſlative Union, would be premature, until the ſentiments of the people of Ireland were aſcertained. Under that impreſſion, I declared that I did not approve of either the original Addreſs, or the Amendment; as the former tended to commit the Houſe in favour of the meaſure, and the latter againſt it; but that I thought the Amendment the leaſt objectionable of the two, as the queſtion might be brought forward in ſome other form. From what occurred afterwards in the courſe of the debate, it appeared to me that the Amendment would put a final negative on the meaſure for this Seſſion, before the opinion of the People could be ſufficiently known; and as the Miniſter had declared, that the Addreſs would not pledge the Houſe to adopt the principle of a Union, I therefore ſaid I ſhould vote for the Addreſs. My object was ſtill the ſame, to keep the queſtion open for diſcuſſion, though I certainly did change my mind as to the means of effecting that object. I have been accuſed, and by ſome, whoſe opinions I reſpect, of indeciſion; but, in my mind, deciſion ought to follow, not precede, diſcuſſion. Haſty deciſion is not always a proof of wiſdom; and if ever there was a queſtion, the tranſcendant magnitude of which would juſtify indeciſion, it is ſurely the preſent. I confeſs I have not that intuitive knowledge of a great and comprehenſive ſubject, ſo complicated in its relations and arrangements, that other gentlemen may have; but of this I am ſure, that even if the meaſure be intrinſically and abſtractedly good, yet, if the People are againſt it, we have no right to force them to a compliance. Though the match may be an advantageous one to both parties; yet, if the inclinations of the lady are decidedly againſt it, I would not recommend even that gentle violence, which ſome ſuppoſe is agreeable to the fair.

The City of Dublin has declared its ſentiments unequivocally; but though I highly reſpect this city, yet Dublin is not all Ireland, nor is Ireland the whole of the Britiſh Empire; and in the fate of the Britiſh empire is involved that of the civilized world. As Iriſhmen, our firſt duty is to conſult the welfare of Ireland; but we are not to neglect that of Great Britain, in which we are ſo deeply intereſted, and whoſe generous aſſiſtance we have ſo lately experienced. The Roman Catholics of this kingdom have not yet declared their ſentiments; and notwithſtanding the outrages that have lately diſgraced ſome of that perſuaſion, the great body of them are loyal ſubjects; and their opinion ought to have weight with the Legiſlature. If many of them have been concerned in the late rebellion, it was not becauſe they were Roman Catholics, but becauſe they were ignorant and uninformed, and therefore liable to be deluded by the miſrepreſentations of artful leaders. The Reports of the Secret

Committees of both Houſes have proved this fact; the great volume of events have proved it; that volume ſo lately unfolded to our view, and which every day, nay every hour, continues to develope. In that book, the genius and tendency of French revolutionary principles, and the deſigns of their abettors in this land, are written in characters ſo broad and legible, that he that runs may read, they ſtaſh conviction on the moſt inatteſtive obſerver: obſtinate and inveterate prejudice can alone miſtake them. The late Rebellion was not a war of one ſect of Chriſtianity againſt another, but of Chriſtianity againſt Infidelity, of Religion againſt Atheiſm, of the ſupporters of Civil Society againſt thoſe, who wiſh for anarchy and confuſion. The Roman Catholic religion has a predilection for monarchy; perhaps even too ſtrong for the genius of our free Conſtitution. When we conſider that Roman Catholic loyalty ſurvived the miſconduct of the Houſe of Stuart, even of the laſt puſillanimous Tyrant, that diſgraced the regal ſceptre of the Britiſh Iſlands; a character certainly not formed to inſpire that enthuſiaſtic zeal, that glowing and diſintereſted attachment, that naturally warms the breaſt of a good ſubject in the cauſe of a brave, a virtuous, and a reſpected Monarch; can we ſuppoſe that they are deficient in that vital principle, when they have transferred their allegiance to a family, in whom the moſt heroic bravery ſeems hereditary, to a Monarch, in whoſe perſon the virtues of the man reflect the pureſt luſtre on the ſacred character of the Sovereign. When lately our foreign enemies combined with domeſtic traitors, to rob us of the invaluable bleſſings of Britiſh connexion, many of the nobility and gentry of that perſuaſion ſtood forth among the foremoſt in the ranks of loyalty, and proved by deeds their attachment to their King and the Conſtitution. An honourable and learned Member has expatiated on national pride; he has touched a ſtring, to which all our feelings vibrate in uniſon; and he has touched it with a maſterly hand. For my part, I feel a pride, I hope an honeſt and a rational pride in being an Iriſhman; but I confeſs no ſmall part of that pride is derived from the connexion of Ireland with Great Britain. Whether that connexion may be beſt ſecured by an incorporating Union, or whether any other means may be deviſed more effectual, and more conducive to the welfare of Ireland, our firſt and great object, may require ſerious and impartial conſideration; but I do not hold myſelf pledged, from any thing I have ſaid, either in this or a former debate, to ſupport the meaſure of a Union:—I only wiſh for a full and fair diſcuſſion.

Col. FITZGERALD ſupported the paragraph, as did Mr. H. D. Grady.

Mr. FITZGERALD, late Prime Serjeant.—Having already expreſſed my opinion on this ſubject, I ſhould not have intruded again upon your attention, if ſomewhat, which has fallen from the Noble Lord, did not appear to me to bear upon the enlightened and uninfluenced profeſſion of which I am proud to be. I owe the Noble Lord all perſonal civility; and feel that I do him a kindneſs, giving him an opportunity to remove any miſconception. I pauſe for a reply; (here Lord Caſtlereagh diſclaimed any intention to ſay any thing diſreſpectful to the Bar.) The Noble Lord has anſwered my expectation;. I did not think it poſſible, that the Miniſter of Lord Camden and of Lord Cornwallis could entertain an idea diſparaging to that great body, which lead the Spirit of Ireland, to arm in its defence againſt foreign and domeſtic foes, as it did the Virtue and Talents of the nation to reſiſt political invaſion. And here give me leave to ſay, that that profeſſion ever has, and ever will be, the moſt zealous guardian of the rights and liberties of their country. I will not travel back into remote hiſtory, but call your attention to the debt of gratitude which this country owes to that profeſſion within our own recollection. What does it owe to that diſtinguiſhed character, whoſe ſucceſſor I unworthily was? —*ſublatum ex oculis quærimus invidi*; what do its Agriculture and Conſtitution owe to your illuſtrious Predeceſſor who firſt attempted to looſen the fetters by which your Legiſlature was bound; and taught the Parliament the ſecret of its own ſtrength.

You, Sir, were of the profeſſion, and abdicated it much to your own private loſs; but with incalculable advantages to the commerce and liberties of your country—a country in whoſe gratitude, I truſt, you will ever live. The ſervices of that Profeſſion are engraven in the marble of the Conſtitution, and will not be forgotten while the Iriſh Legiſlature exiſts; for vain and impotent muſt be every attempt to deprive them of the glory of being the firſt to enrol themſelves for the protection of their country againſt foreign and domeſtic enemies, and for the continuance of the ſeparate and independant Legiſlature of Ireland.

Mr. WILLIAM SMITH, in a ſpeech of conſiderable length, of which we can give but an imperfect abſtract, declared againſt expunging the paragraph which recommended Union; and avowed his opinion, that a Legiſlative Incorporation, provided the terms were juſt and equitable to this country, would be beneficial to Ireland, and to the Empire.

He ſhould begin by noticing, while they were freſh in his memory, ſome arguments which had fallen from a Right Honourable Baronet, who ſat oppoſite to him, (Sir John Parnel.) In anſwer to the fears of that Right Honourable Baronet, for the tranquillity of the metropolis, if an Union ſhould be carried,

he would obſerve that he, for his part, felt little apprehenſion of this kind; and even though there ſhould be ſome ground for ſuch fears, yet he was ready to purchaſe the permanent tranquillity of the whole kingdom, at the expence of ſome temporary diſturbance in the chief City. That Right Honourable Baronet treated Union as if it were a meaſure whoſe operation was to put a period to the exiſtence of the Iriſh Conſtitution. He begged to obſerve, that this was mere and unwarrantable aſſumption; and to declare that he did not conſider Union as producing any ſuch effect. The Right Honourable Baronet aſſerted, that Union could beſtow no commercial benefit, except the Channel Trade: He would reply, that if Union promoted internal harmony and peace, it would give that ſoil, from whence alone commercial greatneſs could ariſe; and therefore in ſecuring our tranquillity, it muſt promote our trade. He applauded the Noble Lord for his promiſe of never loſing ſight of the meaſure; and adviſed him not to abandon his hope of one day, and ere long, opening the eyes of the country to the advantages which it would produce. He heard Union objected to, as leading to ſeparation. But he would aſk whence came it, that he found the enemies of Britiſh connexion ſo foremoſt in the ranks of oppoſition to an Union? Did they reſiſt it, becauſe it tended to diſſolve that connexion which they abhorred?—Gentlemen talked of our willingneſs to ſtand or fall with England. This was the mere rant of a generous ſentiment, which an angry feeling might eaſily ſupplant. He for his part would rather truſt the firmneſs of the connexion to a permanent political principle, than to a tranſient rant of loyalty. If, however, we were thus prepared to ſtand or fall with England, what conſolidation could be too intimate with a country with which we profeſſed to have our intereſts ſo cloſely blended? He heard ſuch contradictory objections founded on our ſituation, that he found it difficult to anſwer them. One reſiſted Union on the ground of our proſperity; another inveighed againſt the treachery of England, in chooſing the moment of our calamity to propoſe this odious meaſure.—Theſe Iſlands formed one Empire: how many Legiſlatures were ſufficient for one Empire to contain? In his mind one was quite enough. Two independant Legiſlatures in one Empire, tended to produce diſſenſions, and weaken and tear aſunder the energies of the whole State. Union then, by allotting one Parliament to one Empire, would fortify that Empire: ſo to fortify it would at any time be prudent in us, inaſmuch as we made a part of that Empire, and as with England we muſt ſtand or fall. But was it not peculiarly incumbent on us to fortify the Empire now, when foreign foes and inteſtine diſſenſions demanded the utmoſt ſtrength of reſiſtance that we could op-

poſe? But Ireland muſt ſacrifice her independance!—No; ſhe was only called on to incorporate her diſtinctneſs; ſhe would ſtill have her due ſhare and weight in the Imperial Councils; a ſhare proportioned to her extent, contribution, and reſources. Could any man who heard our execrations of this plan conceive, that if executed, we ſhould thereafter continue to live under the theory, and perhaps begin to live under the complete practice of the Britiſh Conſtitution?—To participate fully in the bleſſings of that free and admirable ſyſtem, was to ſurrender our Liberties and ſubvert our Conſtitution!—Our preſent diſtinctneſs tended to ſeparation: the Regency ſhewed this. Our independant Lords and Commons appointed a Regent before the Britiſh Parliament had named one: We appointed a Regent with unlimited powers, though we knew the Engliſh were appointing a Regency with reſtricted powers. Thus our diſtinctneſs in that inſtance ſnapped the principle aſunder, which held the two iſlands imperially together. That principle was one Executive for both; a principle enacted in the reign of Henry the Eighth. If his Majeſty's illneſs had continued, we ſhould, *in* conſequence of our diſtinctneſs, have had different Executives for Great Britain and Ireland. The rejecting of the Commercial Propoſitions was another fruit of our diſtinctneſs; they were rejected as clogged with conditions derogatory from our Conſtitutional Independance. This objection would have lain to an Arrangement, however palpably advantageous in a commercial view; and yet England, perhaps, could not, compatibly with her own ſecurity, make the conceſſion without annexing the conditions. Thus our Conſtitutional Diſtinctneſs would ſtand inſurmountably in the way of our national proſperity. Mr. Smith proceeded to ſhew, that had any of thoſe ſchemes of radical Reform, which he had known propoſed to Parliament, been adopted, we ſhould have had thenceforth a Legiſlature differently conſtituted from that of Britain; and thus our diſtinctneſs would produce a manifeſt ſource of eſtrangement and ſeparation. If the miſchiefs which thus aroſe out of Diſtinctneſs of Legiſlation, were prevented by the aſcendant influence of Britain, what would thus be but by corruption, and at the expence of morality and public ſpirit, to achieve that which might have originally been ſecured by allotting a ſingle Legiſlature to a ſingle Empire? Mr. Smith derided the idea of contraſting the numbers of Iriſh and Engliſh Members in the Imperial Parliament. This contraſt flowed from the erroneous notion that, though our Legiſlatures were joined, our intereſts would remain diſtinct. As well might one Iriſh province complain that the number of its Repreſentatives was outweighed by the Repreſentatives of the other three. Mr. Smith went on to demonſtrate the competence of Parliament to conclude an Union, on authority and principle. Parliament, he ſaid, poſſeſſed *abſo-*

late power; and cited Coke and Blackſtone in ſupport of this poſition. If the Iriſh Parliament was incompetent to enact Union, the Scottiſh Union was invalid; being the act of a not more competent Parliament. What ruinous doctrines might follow from ſuch a doctrine? His Majeſty's title to the Throne of Great Britain depended on the ſecond article of the Scotch Union, which limited the Succeſſion to the Houſe of Hanover. Impeach the Union, and you recogniſe the Pretender's title to the Scottiſh Crown. If the Scotch Union was invalid, what became of thoſe Acts which had ſince been paſſed in that illegal Aſſembly which was miſcalled the *Britiſh* Parliament? What became, for inſtance, of the efficacy of that Act of Renunciation which formed the baſis of Iriſh Independance?—To deny the competence of Parliament, was to aſſert the ſupremacy of the People; to inſiſt that in certain conjunctures they were entitled to dictate to their Parliament; and, as this ſame People was to determine when this conjuncture had ariſen, the doctrine would turn our mixed Government into an abſolute Democracy.

He freely admitted that Parliament was incompetent to ſurrender the Liberties and Conſtitution of the country.

(At this part of his ſpeech, Mr. Smith was interrupted by a loud cry of "hear"—from ſome Members that ſat near him: when it had ſubſided, he proceeded thus;)

I ſtand on too firm ground, to be embarraſſed by the inſinuation, which is involved in the clamour, by which I have been interrupted.—I love the liberties of my country as well as any man that hears me: I am as ready as any other man to ſhed my blood in their defence. Parliament, I repeat it, is incompetent to their ſurrender: not becauſe Legiſlative Authority is limited by the Conſtitution; but becauſe freedom is one main end of that Conſtitution; and becauſe to violate natural rights, is to juſtify revolt.—Let it be proved to me, that to promote our commercial proſperity,—to blend and harmoniſe a divided and diſcordant people,—to fortify that common Empire, whoſe ſecurity is our own,—to give Ireland a due and efficient weight in the Imperial Councils; and make her People participate fully in the Britiſh Conſtitution:—let it be ſhewn that this will be to ſurrender the Liberties of my Country, and I ſhall vote againſt the paragraph which recommends an Union.

Mr. EGAN, in anſwer to Mr. Smith, ſaid, that Lord Somers, an Engliſh lawyer, had no more right to object to the Union, than a Lawyer who was called in to draw a conveyance had a right to examine into his client's title. The opinion of an Iriſh Lawyer, now forced to give his opinion, was, that the Scotch Parliament, unleſs ſpecially empowered for that purpoſe by the people, had no right to enact an Union. The Iriſh Parliament

alſo was incompetent to ſuch an act—and if he had had the misfortune to have voted for it, he would next morning either have committed ſuicide or withdrawn himſelf to ſome cavern, and hid his head the remainder of his days. Blackſtone, Somers, and Coke, were all Engliſh Lawyers—and as to Blackſtone, let him believe his doctrine on the competency of Parliament to enact an Union which ſurrenders the liberty of the country, who believes that other doctrine laid down by him that Ireland was dependant on Great Britain, and bound by the Britiſh Parliament. To that doctrine the Parliament of Great Britain had formally given the lie by the act of 1783, which he did not conſider as a *grant*, but as a *recognition* of the independance of Ireland. And if Blackſtone is convicted of ſuch an error as this in the caſe of Ireland, who could wonder that he ſhould decline telling the Highlanders that their country had been ſold, and deſiring them to come down and make war upon England? As to the danger of inculcating this incompetency of the Scotch Parliament, there was nothing in it.—The lapſe of a century has given validity to the meaſure which has been acquieſced under as legal during that time. Having got ſhut of the law authorities proving the competency of Parliament, Mr. Egan went farther, and denied the right of the people themſelves to bind their poſterity—and put this argument in a ſtrong point of view. He then went on to ridicule the pretended advantage of an Union—and ſtated ludicrouſly enough the bleſſing of having our iſland called Weſt Britain—the tax-gatherer coming to levy our proportion of impoſts for the imperial ſervice, &c. &c.

Dr. Browne [College] alſo entered into a refutation of Mr. Smith's arguments. He ſaid he had apprehended at firſt it would be neceſſary for him to expreſs his diſſent from the arguments the Learned Gentleman had advanced to prove the competency of Parliament to enact an Union—but he was agreeably ſurpriſed to find, in the cloſe of the Hon. Gentleman's ſpeech, that they both perfectly agreed in opinion, for at the long run it turned out that the Learned Gentleman was only endeavouring to prove that *ſo long as the Conſtitution laſted* the Parliament was competent to enact any meaſure, becauſe when they violated any of the fundamental laws of nature, then *the Conſtitution was diſſolved*, and the people were authoriſed to exerciſe this *inherent right* of reſiſting the wrong or tyranny. So that this argument to prove the *omnipotence* of Parliament conceded the point in diſpute, namely, that they were *not competent* to do certain acts—becauſe when they ventured on thoſe acts their authority became forfeited, and the people were juſtified in exerciſing what the Hon. Gentleman called the rights of an oppreſſed and enſlaved people. The Learned Gentleman attributed this doctrine of the limitation of

the legiſlative authority to Mr. Paine—but it was derived from a much higher ſource, it was the doctrine of that man to whom every gentleman in that Houſe had been taught to look up in his earlieſt days for the principles of the Conſtitution—it was the doctrine of Mr. Locke who declared expreſsly, that there were caſes in which the Legiſlature might exceed their authority—that in ſuch caſe the Government was diſſolved—and that one of thoſe caſes was, when they attempted to *transfer* into other hands the powers with which the people had entruſted them. It was ſaid, the Legiſlature had a right to alter the Conſtitution in certain caſes, and the limitation of the hereditary ſucceſſion and the octennial bill were mentioned as inſtances—But was there no difference between *altering* a Conſtitution for the better, and *aboliſhing* it all together? Or did the Learned Gentleman mean to infer, that becauſe the Legiſlature could modify certain power poſſeſſed—therefore they were authoriſed in transferring thoſe powers for ever into other hands? Blackſtone had been mentioned as an authority—but that writer would not admit the conſtruction which had been put upon him. He ſays indeed that the Parliament can do every thing—but he ſays the reaſon why the law does not mention a limit to their authority, is becauſe law can never ſuppoſe that which would be a diſſolution of all law—that is, it will not ſuppoſe that a caſe can ever occur when the Legiſlature by exceeding its powers will juſtify the people in reſorting to firſt principles. Authorities having been cited on this queſtion, he would take the liberty of citing one alſo. Every gentleman knew the high character of that great lawyer Lord Hobart—that luminary of the law in the moſt expreſs terms aſſerted, that the power of Parliament was limited. The caſe was one in which the city of London claimed under a cuſtom of the city—they claimed alſo to be themſelves the judges of that cuſtom—that is to be *Party* and *Judge* in their own cauſe. This right of judging of the cuſtom they claimed under a ſtatute—but my Lord Hobart declared that if they could produce an hundred ſtatutes giving them ſuch a power, he would pay no regard to them—for it was contrary to one of the firſt principles of natural juſtice, that a party ſhould be Judge in his own cauſe, and therefore any law conferring ſuch a power was void. He expreſſed his concern that his Hon. Friend ſhould entertain ſo odd a motion as that the independance of this country was its greateſt curſe—for to that moſt of his argumeat ſeemed manifeſtly to tend. Dr. Browne concluded by reaſoning againſt letting this paragraph ſtand in the Addreſs.

Mr. CORRY ſaid, that he heartily joined in the general admiration of the ſpeech of an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Smith) who had delivered ſo able an argument in ſupport of the meaſure, and

had ſo ably defended the competency of Parliament to diſcuſs it. Much expectation had been raiſed by the manner of the Hon. Gentleman who got up profeſſing to anſwer that argument (Mr. Egan)—but the Houſe would recollect how he had done ſo. The Hon. Gentleman mentioned the names of Lord Coke, Lord Somers, and Judge Blackſtone, to whom the former argument referred for authorities. He obſerved of the firſt, that he was a Lawyer who wrote for the Empire, and ſo diſmiſſed Lord Coke —of the ſecond, the Hon. Gentleman ſaid, that though it was true he was one of thoſe who drew the articles of Union between England and Scotland, yet he could not be expected to object to the competency of the contracting parties, no more than a Lawyer employed to draw a ſettlement, could have the audacity to offer an opinion upon the titles of the contracting parties. The likeneſs ſtated by the Hon. Gentleman of Lord Somers to the conveyancer draughting in his office neceſſarily recalled the old aſſertion that the profeſſional habits of Lawyers made them often unfit for great Stateſmen, and it was to be feared the Hon. Gentleman brought himſelf into that predicament, unleſs he ſhould firſt ſhew why he was to be completely exempt himſelf from a charge which at the ſame moment he brings againſt that able and exalted character, Lord Somers, whoſe opinion of the competency of Parliament to contract the Union, was never queſtioned, and by whoſe conduct it was eſtabliſhed. He next proceeds to overthrow the authority of Blackſtone by ſaying, that the ſame man held that Ireland was bound by the acts of the Britiſh Parliament—and offers as a refutation of that doctrine of Judge Blackſtone, the Act of Renunciation. Blackſtone ſtated the fact as it ſtood, as he found it on the face of the ſtatute book, where it certainly never ought to have been found—but being there, he could ſtate the fact no otherways than he did, before the repeal of the act 6. Geo. I.—Of that ſtatute Ireland thought fit to demand the repeal by the act of renunciation—and that very demand of Ireland, and that ſtatute of renunciation are the proof of Blackſtone being well founded—wrote what was the caſe *de facto*—and he could have ſtated nothing againſt the then ſubſiſting ſtatute, unleſs he had thought fit to adopt the expreſſions of ſome of thoſe Lawyers of the preſent day, who had ſaid in that Houſe that it would not be unconſtitutional to reſiſt the law of the land, though enacted under the authority of the three branches of the Legiſlature—an aſſertion which he thought, when he firſt heard it, nothing ſhort of High Treaſon, and he remained of the ſame opinion. The Hon. Gentleman proceeded to ſay, the Houſe ſhall hear the authority of Iriſh Lawyers, and begins by ſtating that he has himſelf been for 16 years at the head of his profeſſion —but he did not recollect that any argument followed to ſhew the grounds on which that great authority founded itſelf on this

queſtion. The Hon. Gentleman next refers to an Hon. Gentleman on the ſecond bench, for whoſe opinion great reſpect was entertained, but Mr. Corry deſired the Houſe to recollect that the opinions of the Iriſh Bar upon this queſtion were certainly not all on one ſide of the queſtion, either in the Houſe or out of it—firſt, the meeting of the Bar was not unanimous—and though the minority there was certainly outnumbered in a very great proportion, yet it was to be conſidered how great a number of the juvenile, warm, and inexperienced part of the profeſſion that majority contained—and it muſt alſo be acknowleged that the minority who were at the meeting with the acceſſion of other names and characters who ſupport, and maintain their opinions, though not at the meeting, is of as much reſpect as that of any other ſet of men whatever—of which the argument lately delivered by an Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Smith) was one ſhining proof. Other proofs were to be ſeen in the ſpeeches and characters of other Lawyers on this ſide of the Houſe likewiſe—but if Iriſh authorities are referred to, let the people of Ireland look to the authorities which have been lately exhibited in another place not far diſtant—he meant the authorities of the firſt Law Lord—of the Chief Juſtice of the Common Pleas—of the Chief Baron of the Exchequer—the Lord Chancellor, whoſe ſound and fundamental knowledge he had not heard arraigned, ſupported the queſtion againſt the Hon. Gentleman—the Chief Juſtice, Lord Carleton, whoſe able and diſpaſſionate opinions were univerſally reſpected, ſupported the queſtion againſt him,—the Chief Baron, Lord Yelverton, that great conſtitutional authority—one of the fathers of the independancy and liberties of Ireland, ſupported the queſtion againſt him. Would the Hon. Gentleman charge that name for which he has ſo often expreſſed his veneration, as acting upon the principles of a conveyancer, and betraying that Conſtitution and thoſe Liberties which he had ſo ably aſſiſted to eſtabliſh—let the people of Ireland look to thoſe authorities with whom they are better acquainted than with the venerable names of Coke, Somers, Blackſtone—they know them ſufficiently to pronounce between them and the authority of the Hon. Gentleman, whether or not the Parliament are proceeding to deſtroy the independance, and ſacrifice the conſtitutional liberties of Ireland.

Much has been ſaid of the Conſtitution of 1782; and it was aſſerted, that the meaſures now propoſed went to ſacrifice what had then been gained—but ſee what the queſtion of 1782 was:—Great Britain at that time exerciſed a power to legiſlate for Ireland, paramount to her own Legiſlature, which exerciſe Ireland reſiſted, upon the conſtitutional principle of not being bound by the authority of any body of men whatever, extrinſic of her own Legiſlature, in which Legiſlature alone the people of Ireland were repreſented. They took ground upon this principle,

namely, that Repreſentation and Legiſlation were inſeparably connected by the Conſtitution; and that Ireland, not being repreſented in, they could not be bound by, the Britiſh Legiſlature. The queſtion was the ſame as that of America, where reſiſtance had been made againſt Legiſlation without Repreſentation. Founded in that principle irrefragably, Ireland ſucceeded in her claims to be free from any authority of the Parliament of Great Britain, in which ſhe had no ſhare, and no repreſentation; and the Act of Renunciation, giving up all claim of that kind in the Parliament of Great Britain, was paſſed there, and our Independancy finally eſtabliſhed.

But in 1785, the Commercial Propoſitions again ſet up an indirect invaſion of the Independancy ſo eſtabliſhed by a propoſed compact, that Ireland ſhould, on commercial ſubjects, paſs laws ſimilar to thoſe which might be paſſed in Great Britain. This came to the ſame effect, as if Ireland was to be legiſlated for by the Parliament of Great Britain, in which ſhe had no ſhare and was not repreſented, and ſuch a compact was accordingly reſiſted; and the Conſtitution of 1782, founded on the inſeparable connexion between Repreſentation and Legiſlation was maintained and eſtabliſhed. Gentlemen then, who aſſert that the preſent meaſures are a ſurrender of the principles of 1782, muſt ſhew that they go to eſtabliſh that Ireland ſhall again be bound by a Parliament, wherein ſhe ſhall have no ſhare, and not be repreſented. Now, the reverſe is diſtinctly the fact; for the preſent meaſures have for their object, not that Ireland ſhould be bound by the Britiſh Legiſlature without having ſhare, and being repreſented in that Legiſlature; but that the Britiſh Legiſlature and that of Ireland ſhould be united together into one body, in which Ireland ſhould have her due proportionate ſhare, and fair and conſtitutional repreſentation; ſo that the Legiſlatures of the three kingdoms ſhould be melted into one maſs, that their triple powers ſhould be reduced to unity on fair and juſt terms; and that they ſhould form one great conſtitutional Repreſentative Legiſlature for the Empire; and therefore thoſe who ſupport that meaſure, are acting in perfect conſiſtency with the principles eſtabliſhed in 1782, and ſupported and maintained in 1785.

But the Houſe will recollect, that an Honourable Baronet at the ſame time that he incorrectly ſtated that this meaſure was inconſiſtent with the principles of 1782, proceeded to another topic, equally calculated to enflame the public mind. He ſtated the entire catalogue of the Prerogatives of the Crown, namely, the powers of war and peace, the church, the army, &c. and followed the catalogue by an aſſertion, that theſe were conceſſions from this country to Great Britain; an aſſertion equally un-

founded as the former, but equally calculated to enflame and to miſlead the people of Ireland. Mr. Corry here went into a reply to Sir Laurence Parſons's ſpeech. Mr. Corry ſaid, he would only add one word on the effect of the amendment which was intended to preclude an anſwer to that part of the Speech from the Throne. The writ for returning the Commons to Parliament, directs that they ſhould be returned to conſult *de arduis Regni*. The Houſes being met, the ſeſſion opens by a ſpeech from the Throne, certifying both Houſes of the cauſes and conſideration of ſummoning the Parliament, without which opening by a ſpeech, neither Houſe can proceed to any buſineſs whatſoever, of which the intricacies, at the time of the Regency queſtion, give one inſtance. If in reply to that ſpeech, either Houſe of Parliament ſhall proceed to anſwer and to declare, that they will not at any time enter into conſideration of a certain ſubject, it becomes an indecent and unconſtitutional violation of the rights of the other two branches of the Legiſlature—of the Crown, which has the conſtitutional right to ſuggeſt, and of the Lords, who have the conſtitutional right to diſcuſs, and tranſmit their deliberations and reſolutions for the concurrence of the Commons. Let the Commons make the caſe their own; for inſtance, on the ſubject of Union, it was ſaid in ſome of the Pamphlets, that it was to be accompanied by an arrangement of Tithes. Suppoſe the Bench of Biſhops had riſen in another Houſe of Parliament, and reſolved that they would at no time take into conſideration the ſubject of Tithes, would it not be placing the Reſolution of the Lords as a barrier againſt the rights of the Commons to diſcuſs that ſubject, and to ſend up their Reſolutions to the other Houſe; and would it not in effect be to ſet up, as in the arrogant vote of Agiſtment mentioned by a Right Hon. Baronet (Sir John Parnel) the Reſolution of one Houſe of Parliament in a uſurped authority, equal to a reſtrictive and prohibitory law of the three branches of the Legiſlature? Mr. Corry concluded with aſſerting, that the meaſures propoſed to be hereafter conſidered, were thoſe which alone could be effectual, accompanied by the approbation of Parliament and of the Country—and to reſtore tranquillity and permanent proſperity to Ireland.

Col. VEREKER was againſt the Paragraph; and repelled with great ſpirit the charge of being dupes, which, he ſaid, was made by Lord Caſtlereagh on the country gentlemen.

Lord CASTLEREAGH explained. He had only recommended it to them to conſider before they ſuffered themſelves to be duped by a faction.

Sir John Frere.—I opposed the Address, and supported the Amendment of my honourable Friend. I will now oppose this Paragraph; as I will, on every occasion, any attempt to wrest from this Country its rights and independance.

Mr. Arthur Moore.—I had flattered myself with the hope, Mr. Speaker, that the disapprobation of this measure, which was yesterday so unequivocally manifested by so respectable and independant a part of this House, would have led on this day to a distinct abandonment of a project, so wild and visionary in its nature, so repugnant to the sense and feelings of this Nation, and so critically dangerous to the permanent interests and lasting consolidation of the British Empire. But how have I been disappointed at hearing the intemperate and peevish declamation of the Noble Lord; in which, while he arraigns the motives of gentlemen in this House, and seems regardless of the sense of the Country, he perseveres with the most incorrigible pertinacity, and the most insulting pervicacity, in despite of yesterday's defeat or this day's reproaches; without regard either to experience or discretion, again to fight this unequal state-battle in the same field, where the independance and virtue and talent of the Nation had so recently obtained such a signal triumph over the corrupt and insidious policy of those who, under the plausible pretext of national security and imperial consolidation of interest, had aimed the most mortal blow at the prosperity, happiness, and liberties of Ireland. But gentlemen who object to this clause standing part of the Address, are accused of wantonly provoking this second debate, on the subject of the Union, after the explicit declaration of the Noble Lord yesterday, viz. *that he would pay every respect to the sentiments of so respectable a minority, though he never would lose sight of the object.* This, it seems, was to be the pledge of our security—the guarantee of our existence as an independant Legislature—the tenure of our Constitution—and how has the Noble Lord kept his word; how has he shewn *his respect for the sentiments of so respectable a minority?* by bestowing upon them the most intemperate and indiscriminate abuse! by the imputation of the most mischievous motives—the most dangerous principles—the most unjustifiable means—and by an imitation of that indecent stile of invective and low scurrility, which so eminently characterises the wretched oratory of some, for the rashness of whose political enterprises, and the vulgarity of whose thoughts and sentiments I never wish to see him forego the natural discretion of his own mind, and the acquired urbanity of his educated habits. I must, however admit, Sir, that if the Noble Lord has failed in his promised respect for the sentiments of his opponents on this subject, he has been true to the latter part of his declaration, namely, *that he would never lose sight of*

the object; and indeed the ſtrenuous efforts that have been this night made to retain the Paragraph objected to, as part of the Addreſs, moſt evidently ſhew, that we are to expect neither reſt nor recreation; ceſſation from labour, or intermiſſion of diſcuſſion, until this Houſe ſhall have compelled the Noble Lord either unequivocally to abandon the meaſure, or to ceaſe to be the Miniſter, under whoſe auſpices it ſhall again be brought forward. And therefore, Sir, let it not be ſaid, that gentlemen on this ſide of the Houſe are a ſecond time agitating the Country by a ſecond diſcuſſion of this momentous ſubject; we wiſhed never to have heard of it again; we hoped we ſhould not—and if the Country is agitated, and the queſtion a ſecond time diſcuſſed, the Miniſter is anſwerable for the conſequences; who, with the moſt obſtinate inſiſtence perſeveres in retaining that Paragraph, which, according to his own explanation of its enigmatical language, contains an implied approbation of the principle of an Union of our Legiſlature with that of Great Britain. Another charge made this night againſt thoſe who oppoſe this ruinous project is, that we have uſed warm and paſſionate language, calculated to inflame and prejudice the public mind, upon a ſubject which ought to be temperately diſcuſſed and calmly inveſtigated. I appeal to the Houſe, whether there has been any warmth or violence of language, or manner manifeſted on this ſide of the Houſe, in any degree proportionate to the wild and headlong declamation, in which the Noble Lord has this night exhibited the intemperance of puerile indiſcretion, and the diſappointment of miniſterial ambition. But how is it poſſible to ſpeak upon ſuch a ſubject without warmth and feeling? How is it poſſible to reflect on the means that have been uſed to ſteal this meaſure upon us through all the ſecret windings of miniſterial treachery and perfidious policy, without rage and indignation? How is it poſſible to be cool and diſpaſſionate when the deareſt intereſts of a Nation—the moſt important concerns of an Empire—the moſt prized and valued privileges of human nature—the liberty, happineſs, and proſperity of millions of men, are put to the iſſue of a meaſure, introduced in language metaphorically obſcure and ſtudiouſly inſidious, ſupported by men of conſummate imbecillity and pre-eminent public profligacy, and brought forward on the heels of invaſion and rebellion;—before the ſocial order and regular ſubordination of ſociety have been reſtored—and before the rancorous contentions, the bitter animoſities of men, and the unexampled calamities of the Country (tho' faſt ſubſiding) have yet altogether given way to returning confidence and coincidence of opinion—to the ſentiment of national unanimity, and to the bleſſing of re-eſtabliſhed tranquillity? For my part, Mr. Speaker, I muſt candidly declare, that conſidering every circumſtance of men and things—of manner and occaſion—of pretext and deſign

—of arrangement and execution—I am ſo horror-ſtruck with this wicked invaſion of the independance of this land, that I am not only incapable of uſing any other than warm and paſſionate language; but I confeſs myſelf to be at this moment little ſhort of phrenſy. I am frantic when I conſider the duplicity and craft to which this nation has been made the ſacrifice; the double dealing and inſidiouſneſs by which her diſtractions have been made the pretext for the ſurrender of her liberties; and the audacity and wickedneſs by which that Conſtitution, ſo recently aſſerted by Ireland and recogniſed by England has in the moment of national weakneſs and calamity been attempted to be undermined and overthrown! Oh! unhappy country! how ſucceſsfully have thine enemies taken advantage of thy diſſenſions? With what a careful and judicious hand have they ſown the ſeeds of thy deſtruction? The errors; the deluſions; the crimes of *ſome* of thy people, have been the pretext for an attack upon the liberties of *all!* Had you never been divided, the ſurrender of your national pride, and independance had never been demanded! *Unite now, not in the hollow embrace of iniquitous republican fraterniſation, but in the loyal irreſiſtible Union of a brave and free people reſolved to preſerve their invaluable Conſtitution againſt all innovation or to periſh with it! Unite thus, and there is no array of power or policy which can be brought to aſſail your liberties but muſt vaniſh and ſink to nothing before the tremendous unanimity of an undivided people!*

Sir, I have often heard it argued with great ſucceſs, and I think with excellent reaſon, that the ſeaſon of war is of all others the moſt improper for the experiment of conſtitutional improvement or innovation. If a Reform in the Repreſentation of the People in Parliament (for which I do not profeſs myſelf an advocate at this day) were propoſed, it has uniformly been oppoſed upon the ground of the *time* being unſeaſonable for innovation and experiment. If a motion be made for a Reform of the Scotch Boroughs, or the ſyſtem of government for India, it is reſiſted by the argument that under the exiſting circumſtances of the country, it is dangerous to agitate the public mind by topics which have a direct tendency to alter or even regenerate our eſtabliſhments—and yet here is a queſtion not of innovation but ſubverſion; not of alteration but extinction; not of regeneration but of death—a queſtion, not to improve or ameliorate, but to deſtroy and annihilate the popular part of the Conſtitution of Ireland, brought forward at a period of external war and domeſtic troubles, under the auſpices of that ſame Miniſter who has ſo repeatedly and ſo juſtly oppoſed the arguments of *time* and *circumſtances*, to projects ſo infinitely inferior in dignity and importance to the meaſure now under the contemplation of this Houſe. Sir, I have very little doubt that a propoſition to diſſolve and overthrow the Popular branch of our Conſtitution would be little if at all ſhort of

Treaſon, but undoubtedly would be an overt act of High Treaſon, inaſmuch as it might lead by direct conſequence to a compaſſing the King's death, and it is worthy of obſervation that the principal overt-acts in the indictments againſt Hardy, Tooke and the reſt, were for *conſpiring to alter and overturn the Legiſlature, Rule and Government now happily and duly eſtabliſhed in theſe kingdoms*, and *for writing and diſperſing and cauſing to be written and diſperſed papers pamphlets and ſo forth, tending to ſubvert and alter the Legiſlature, Rule and Government of theſe kingdoms.* When therefore a Right Hon. Gentleman talks of Treaſon to loyal men, he ought to recollect the precedent of thoſe indictments, and that there is a nearer connexion with Treaſon, between the conduct of perſons who would propoſe *the alteration and ſubverſion of our Legiſlature, and circulate wicked and pernicious writings* for that purpoſe, than any which can be traced to the opinions and conduct of ſuch as boldly contend for the integrity and inviolability of the Conſtitution. It has been argued with great labour and ſubtilty that Parliament has at preſent, without the previous aſſent of the Nation, full and entire competence to enter into an incorporate Union with the Legiſlature of Great Britain, and to ſupport them in this principle, Gentlemen reſort to the opinions of Lord Coke and Judge Blackſtone, who both ſay that the power and juriſdiction of Parliament is tranſcendant, abſolute, omnipotent, and ſo I admit it is, *in the exerciſe of its conſtitutional functions*, ſo long (as Blackſtone ſays) *as the Conſtitution laſts the power of Parliament is abſolute and without controul*, or in other words, ſo long as it acts within the ſphere of the Conſtitution, it is omnipotent—it is omnipotent in legiſlation, and in the exerciſe of all the powers and energies of the ſtate, *but it is only a Truſtee for the Conſtitution, whoſe power is ſovereign, paramount and ſuper-ruling, it is omnipotent to preſerve, not to deſtroy the ſovereign power of the ſtate*, it is omnipotent in the diſpenſation of Government, but cannot annihilate it, or any branch of it. The Legiſlature therefore when it is called deſpotic, is, I conceive, only ſo *ſub modo*, it is deſpotic to all intents and purpoſes as long as it acts according to the rules and principles of the Conſtitution, whoſe organ it is, but it is reſtrained and limited from the commiſſion of any act which may alter or abrogate, injure or deſtroy, that Conſtitution or any of its conſtituent members. And I would again refer the Houſe to the authority of Mr. Burke, in his reflections on the French Revolution, page 28 for illuſtration of this ſubject, when he ſays "the Houſe of Lords is not competent to diſſolve itſelf nor "to abdicate, if it would, its proportion in the Legiſlature "of the kingdom." The King cannot abdicate for the Monar-"chy, though he may for his own Perſon; by as ſtrong, or by a "*ſtronger reaſon* the Houſe of Commons cannot renounce its ſhare "of authority, &c." It is indeed curious to obſerve, Mr.

Speaker, the courſe of the debate upon this part of the queſtion, the Noble Lords ſets out with a Philippic againſt the legal part of the Houſe, and ſeems to deſpiſe altogether the opinions of the gentlemen of the long robe upon this ſubject, and yet it is eaſy to obſerve that his main reliance this night is on certain Lawyers, who ſeem very full of the ſubject and who I ſincerely hope have been *refreſhed* ſince the laſt debate, and yet ſome of thoſe Learned Leaders whom one would expect to ſee in the front of the battle ſeem to have left their ground; I preſume having fired their platoon on the laſt night they have retired to the rere to prime and load, or to rally the broken and confuſed ranks already panic-ſtruck with the proſpect of a ſecond and more inglorious defeat. The Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Corry) who was a Lawyer, but is now a Miniſter, takes a different courſe from the Noble Lord (who holds the opinions of Lawyers except they be on his own ſide in the moſt ſovereign contempt) and preferring the habits of his former profeſſion to thoſe of his preſent ſtation, he comes forward with a new ſet of authorities (three of the Law Lords of our own country) and to make amends for the abſence or ſilence of thoſe ſpectres of profeſſional inanity, the law officers, he argues the queſtion upon what he calls legal grounds. But I confeſs, Sir, with all my attention awake to the ſpeech of the Right Hon. Gentleman, I have not been able to catch a ſingle argument or principle upon which my mind can dwell an inſtant, but if aſſertion and Dictum be ſubſtitutes for reaſoning and authority, if an uninterrupted continuity of ſpeech without the impediment of legal principle, or conſtitutional inference be calculated to convince and perſuade, the Right Hon. Gentleman whether he is to be conſidered as a Lawyer or a Politician, or as that hermaphrodite kind of character which conſiſts in being half one and half the other, has undoubtedly a claim to the higheſt praiſe for the manner in which he has diſcuſſed the ſubject. The Right Hon. Gentleman has relied chiefly on the opinions of three noble Lords now at the head of three of our Courts of Juſtice, he has merely told us their opinions, but has not informed us upon what authorities they were founded. I own I am not one who, feeling myſelf to be a Truſtee for the popular branch of the Conſtitution, am much diſpoſed to be directed in the diſcharge of my duty as a Legiſlator by the Dicta of judicial authorities however great and reſpectable—with reſpect to one of thoſe perſonages I am free to admit every weight to be due to the opinion of a man, who when a Member of the Houſe of Commons, was one of the moſt diſtinguiſhed advocates for the independance of Parliament and the freedom of his country—with reſpect to the other two, I am willing to ſubſcribe to the integrity and ability of one in a Court of Equity—and to the great and acknowledged qualifications of the other in a Court of Common Law, but I never heard that

either of the Noble Lords was ancillary to the emancipation of this country, or that they had any ſhare (ſave that which every Member of Parliament is virtually ſuppoſed to have in reſtoring the Conſtitutional independance of Ireland.) But the Right Hon. Gentleman might have quoted the opinion of a Law Lord of undiſputed authority upon ſuch a ſubject as this, whoſe ſhade (as was finely expreſſed by my Hon. and Learned Friend) has as it were riſen from the tomb to vindicate the invaded liberties of his country. Is his opinion equal to any of thoſe which have been mentioned? Or to which of them is it inferior? ſo far for authorities. There was a point which the Right Hon. Gentleman preſſed and dwelt upon in his ſpeech, which I do not think he managed with his uſual candour and delicacy. My Right Hon. Friend (Sir John Parnel) in mentioning the reſpect which was due and paid to the ſenſe of the Houſe of Commons inſtanced by way of illuſtration the reſolution with regard to agiſtment which has for many years been obſerved as a quaſi law of the land—but the Right Hon. Gentleman fired as it were with indignation at a principle ſo unconſtitutional, exclaims with great vehemence, what! Shall a reſolution of one Houſe of Parliament be called the law of the land? What if the Houſe of Lords ſhould reſolve, for inſtance, that they would not at any time take the ſubject of tithes into conſideration, would that reſolution ſtand as a barrier in the way of the Commons to diſcuſs the ſubject? No truly, nor did my Right Hon. Friend ſay that the reſolution reſpecting agiſtment, or any other reſolution of one Houſe of Parliament could conſtitute the law of the land, but that ſuch a reſolution while it remained unrevoked would be always attended with a certain degree of reſpect as well by the Nation as by the Miniſters of the Crown. The Right Hon. Gentleman is alſo of opinion that this meaſure is within the omnipotence of Parliament without *ſpecial authority* from their conſtituents, if then (to admit all that has been urged on that head for argument's ſake) Parliament be ſo tranſcendantly powerful, can I urge a better reaſon to this Houſe for refuſing to agree to an Union? The way in which gentlemen argue is this; they make Parliament the moſt deſpotic power upon earth, and then they call upon you to ſurrender the exerciſe of its authority into the hands of another Legiſlature. If Parliament be abſolute and omnipotent as 'tis ſaid, I ſhould think that common ſenſe and true wiſdom dictate to every man, *that it is better be the deſpot than the ſlave*; and therefore, though it be poſſible that Parliament may abuſe its powers, it is not to be apprehended that the Nation will ever ſink into abſolute and irretrievable bondage while the Legiſlature remains reſident, diſtinct and independant. The Noble Lord has honoured the Gentlemen at this ſide of the Houſe with the appellation of a cabal, will he allow me to remind him of the manner in which the

word cabal originated, the initials of the names of the five perſons who compoſed the famous Miniſtry known by that name in the reign of Charles II. made up the compoſition of the word. I believe if there be a cabal in this country it is not at this ſide of the Houſe. I could find five names I think, but their initials are all conſonants (and the ſame conſonant too) and there is unluckily no vowel to harmoniſe them into a word, theſe five names I conceive to be the cabal of this country, in which he who ought to be the greateſt ſeems to me to be the leaſt, perhaps too the Members of this cabal are little inferior to the original in the miſchief of their councils and the pernicious folly of their projects, what was the fate of that vile conſpiracy againſt the Crown and the Nation? It is impoſſible not to repeat the lines of the Poet ſo deſcriptive of the fallen greatneſs of the mighty Buckingham:

"The George and garter dangling from the bed
"Where filthy yellow vies with dirty red,
"Great Villiers lies."

Moſt of the reſt after having outlived their fortunes, their characters, and their power, the ſcoff and ſcorn of mankind (an awful example of the mutability of human greatneſs!) at length ſunk into the grave, where, though earth, duſt, and aſhes may cover and conceal the dead, there is yet no concealment or oblivion for their infamies, their iniquities, and their crimes.—Sir, amongſt other topics of abuſe (in which the calumny thrown on the Bar is a principal feature) the Parliament itſelf has not upon this night eſcaped traduction, and it is ſingular to obſerve, that the very perſons at whoſe ſuggeſtion and in proſecution of whoſe councils the Parliament of Ireland has, for many years paſt, taken all its meaſures, are now the firſt to charge it with corruption, with faction, and with utter incapacity to provide for the internal ſecurity of the country, or to prevent the return of thoſe calamities with which we have ſo recently been afflicted.—Will the Houſe endure this?—Will the ſpirit of Parliament ſubmit to the degradation of acknowledging its own diſgrace by juſtifying its own diſſolution?—Will the Houſe of Commons bear to be told that in order to be efficient they muſt be diminiſhed—to be virtuous they muſt be inſignificant—to be independant they muſt be annihilated?—The illuſtrious Camden never inſtructed the Noble Lord to entertain ſuch opinions:—He was the guardian-genius of Iriſh Independance, and the proud vindicator of our liberties.—Could he, from the grave, "behold the dwellers upon earth," and hear the ſpeech of the Noble Lord this night, he would reprobate the degenerate ſentiments it contained, and proudly indignant to find his ſound principles forgotten, and his precepts neglected in that ungrateful ſoil where he had cultivated them with ſo much care, he would aſſert the inſulted honor

and invaded independance of the Parliament, and would vindicate the character of that calumniated Profeſſion by means of which he had honourably riſen from obſcurity to eminence, and which had in no ſmall degree contributed through the medium of ſuch a patron, to elevate the family of the Noble Lord himſelf from reſpectable independance to exalted diſtinction. Sir, a Right Hon. Gentleman (Mr. Corry) with what prudence it is not for me to ſay, has illuſtrated his argument by an alluſion to the grounds of that unhappy conteſt which ſeparated the American coloniſes from the mother country, and he tells you very truly, that the attempt by the Britiſh Parliament to legiſlate for America without the latter being repreſented in that aſſembly, was the original cauſe of that quarrel. But I would tell the Right Hon. Gentleman that, however the grounds of conteſt ſtood at firſt, in the courſe of the war *a portion of repreſentation in the Engliſh Parliament* was offered to America, which the latter rejected—why? becauſe ſhe ſaw the utter incompatibility of incorporate legiſlation with independance—becauſe ſhe ſaw the inadequacy of a repreſentation where diſtinct intereſts were to be guarded by a diſproportionate body of repreſentatives—becauſe ſhe ſaw that ſhe would not be better protected from the ſcourge of unjuſt taxation by having *a few* members in the Engliſh Senate than when ſhe had *not any*, and therefore I ſay, that if the American ſtruggle is any parallel to our caſe, it is this, that that war was begun or at leaſt continued on the part of America, for the obtainment of that which we now poſſeſs, but which we are called upon to ſurrender, namely legiſlation, not by incorporation of repreſentation, but by diſtinct ſubdependant Legiſlatures.—But, Sir, the moſt ſtriking ſimilitude between the American tranſactions and the concerns of our own country, appears to me to conſiſt in the identity *of object and deſign againſt both.* I think it is impoſſible not to ſee that in this project the end and ultimate purſuit is *Taxation*, in which reſpect there is no demonſtration plainer, than that Ireland would be at the mercy of the Britiſh Parliament and Miniſter to all intents and purpoſes whatſoever;—and after all, Sir, I do not know that there is any appendage of legiſlation ſo important and intereſting to a nation as the impoſition of taxes. But there are gentlemen who argue, that, by our having a certain number of repreſentatives in the Britiſh Parliament, we muſt be conſidered as *conſenting* to our own taxation.—I am certain there will be a number (for alas! I fear there will be but few amongſt them who have ever ſeen our country) who will *conſent* to our being taxed to any amount, but ſuppoſing the beſt that can happen—ſuppoſing them all to *diſſent*, can the unanimous voice of the whole one hundred, ſecure this country from any tax which the Britiſh repreſentatives ſhall think proper to impoſe upon it. Where then is the difference in point

of *practical benefit* between a repreſentation *which has not in the nature of things the power of doing us any ſervice, and no repreſentation at all*,—though there is great difference in point of *practical injury*, for I think it could upon various conſiderations be ſhewn, that the latter would be infinitely preferable:—But then Sir, it is ſaid, if our proportion of members in the Legiſlature will not ſecure us againſt Britiſh taxation, the terms of the treaty may do ſo.—I like not treaties between the great and the humble—the ſtrong and the weak—the Giant and the Dwarf—the ties of plighted faith are but a feeble barrier againſt the aggreſſions of conſcious power.—The recognition of our Independance in 1783 did not prove to be a ſecurity againſt the demand of its abdication in 1785, and of its ſurrender in 1779.—I could inſtance Scotland, but the notorious violations of that treaty of Union are in every pamphlet and in the mouths of every man who ſpeaks upon the ſubject; but there is one breach which I cannot paſs over. By the Act of Union Scotland was to be aſſeſſed to 48,000l. when England ſhould pay 2,00,0000l. or 4s. in the Pound to the Land Tax;—but ſee the Miniſter's budget this very year, and you will find Scotland rated at 5000l. for the tenth of the incomes of eſtates over and above the 48,000l. which ſhe already pays according to the articles of the Union; ſo that by the Income Bill, the landed gentlemen of Scotland are now to pay a tenth of the receipts of their eſtates over and above the ſtipulated proportion between the countries at the time of the Union.—Are the gentlemen of Ireland prepared for theſe things?—Are they prepared to give up a tenth of their income to the Engliſh Miniſters (perhaps more) however well they are diſpoſed to the Engliſh nation?—Sir, I muſt confeſs I am not a little ſurpriſed to ſee the Miniſter of England purſuing the ſame ſyſtem with regard to this country, by the reprobation of which, with regard to America, he firſt raiſed himſelf into notice, and afterwards into power,—the ſyſtem *of taxation when directly* exerciſed upon America was, in his opinion, a ſyſtem *of tyranny*, but when *indirectly* attempted againſt Ireland, is a ſyſtem of *kindneſs and conceſſion*—in England it was not eaſy to find new reſources—the luxury and induſtry of the country are exhauſted—the neceſſaries of life can produce no more—capital and income have been reſorted to—what remains?—Ireland! yes!—the generous hoſpitality—the ſocial harmony of the Iriſh Nation muſt prepare for the *tax-gatherer and the taſk-maſter*—the "proud ſubmiſſion, the dignified obedience" of our national character muſt ſubmit to the yoke,—we ſhall become hewers of wood and drawers of water—we ſhall have the rival plunderers of the Eaſt and Weſt quartered upon our country, and after having drained the laſt drop of African blood, and exhauſted the wealth and tears of Hindoſtan, they will be ſent to this devoted iſland to

gratify their insatiable cupidity, by the spoil of our nobility—the plunder of our gentry, and the oppression of our people—we shall then indeed be what Lord North said America should be "prostrate at the feet of England".—But, Mr. Speaker, if Ireland does fall, depend upon it, (to use the words of the venerable Lord Chatham) "she will fall like the strong man, she will embrace the pillars of the State, and pull down the Empire with her."—Sir, upon this occasion I do not think it necessary, or indeed regular, to go into those topics which may be supposed to belong to the detail and developement of the measure; I am indeed in hopes that it will never be detailed or developed; but there is one consideration which properly belongs to that period of the subject which has been plausibly represented and forcibly urged—I mean the probability of the transfer of English capital to this country—but for my part I cannot conceive how we are to expect British capital to come amongst us after we have lost the protection of a resident Parliament—after the most considerable of our gentry have became absentees—and after we have subjected ourselves to British taxation—when the market for genius and talent is transferred to another country—when the arts of polished and civilised life, those main incentives to ingenuity and labour are gone—and when the lethargy of indolence, and the sloth of sullen discontent shall have enervated the arm of industry and degraded and debased our people.—Did British capital approach our island in any considerable degree when our taxes were low, our trade flourishing, and our country at peace? and is it to be expected that it will all at once pour in upon us in consequence of a measure which will obviously encrease our taxes, certainly not improve our trade, and instead of contributing to our tranquillity will, I think extend the causes and enlarge the circle of public disquietude and national discontent? in every point of view, therefore, Sir, in which I have been able to contemplate this measure, I consider it as pregnant with the most alarming mischiefs both to this country and Great-Britain—I look upon it as the nursery of new misfortunes, and the grave of our antient liberties—and instead of its tending to strengthen and consolidate the general interests of the Empire, or to restore and confirm the internal tranquillity of this country, I am thoroughly persuaded that the ingenuity or wickedness of man never yet devised a scheme so effectually adequate to bring about the Separation of the two kingdoms (the most disastrous of all consequences!) and so likely to renew in this scarce-tranquillised country, the calamities of civil war and the horrors of suppressed Rebellion.

Mr. Tighe.—Sir, I could wish rather to shorten, than to lengthen this debate, by bringing back the real question to the consideration of the House. The question seems to be simply

this: Adminiſtration have abandoned this object, which they had the imprudence and the misfortune to agitate; ſome of their moſt diſintereſted ſupporters have declared to-night, in a manner the moſt honourable to themſelves, that they will no longer ſupport the meaſure of an Union; ſince they are now convinced that it is perfectly contrary to the general wiſh of the nation. The queſtion is therefore, whether you will, or whether you will not, take the readieſt and moſt effectual means of ſatisfying the nation that it is abandoned? The readieſt and moſt effectual means of doing ſo, is by omitting that paragraph of the Addreſs which is now before the Houſe. I know with thorough conviction, that the Noble Secretary had the beſt intentions in bringing the ſubject forward; I am willing to attribute the very beſt intentions to thoſe who have ſupported him; and it is for that reaſon that I ſhould expect from them a concurrence in giving general ſatisfaction to the kingdom. Confident I am, that as long as there is the ſlighteſt open left, for the queſtion being revived, it will hang like a diſaſtrous meteor over the peace of the nation. Will you, by voting this Paragraph, pledge yourſelves to conſider that ſubject, which you are determined not to conſider? By doing ſo, you muſt either deceive the King, or deceive the People;—or will you at once, by rejecting this Paragraph, act with honeſty to the King, and with ſatisfaction to the People?

Or are the Miniſtry not yet convinced, by what they have ſeen, and by what they have heard, that tranquillity would not be the reſult of their meaſure! Are the People of Ireland not convinced, that they could gain no commercial advantages by an Union? but even, if it were in the power of Great Britain, to give us commercial advantages; if it was in her power to give us all the commerce of the Britiſh Empire, Ireland would reject the wealth of the whole world, when ſet againſt her Independance; that ſhe conſiders as a jewel of ineſtimable price; which, if ſhe poſſeſſed it not, ſhe would part with her all to obtain; but ſince ſhe is poſſeſſed of it, ſhe will not ſuffer the wealth or the power of the world to take it from her.—Tranquillity and Commercial advantages are held out as the price of our Conſtitution; permit me to ſay a few words to them.

I know but two ways of tranquilliſing a nation; either by giving ſatisfaction to the People, or by reſtraining them by military power:—what part of the People would an Union ſatisfy?—the Catholics?—No; it would place an eternal bar to the accompliſhment of their wiſhes, and render them deſperate of ſucceſs; it is in an Iriſh Parliament that the cauſe of the Catholics has prevailed; will they look up for relief to a Britiſh Parliament, who ſtill hold their own Catholics in depreſſion; whoſe numbers, whoſe claims and peaceable diſpoſition have afforded them no pre-

tence? Will an Union satisfy the Presbyterians? by bringing them within the focus of British test-laws? Can they expect to remain in a state more favoured than the Dissenters of England? Will an Union satisfy the Friends of Reform? what, by annihilating that Parliament, which they wish to meliorate? I see no body of men, whom an Union could satisfy; tranquillity then could only be obtained by military force; Ireland would have a mere military government, and be the barrack of the Empire; with no Parliament to restrain, even by the force of opinion, the conduct of the Chief Governor, or his dependants, "*this distant and petty province*," as Mr. Gibbon stiles it, would be at his mercy; in power he would be a military Proconsul, or a Governor of Bengal; and it would depend on his disposition only, to become a Verres or a Hastings.

Would commercial advantages result from such a species of Government? I cannot help admiring the generosity of Britain, that now offers us, in return for the power of unlimited taxation, the long promised Equalisation of Duties, the only pretended commercial advantage she can offer, when, by the annihilation of our Parliament, we should be unable to protect that advantage:—when the British merchants could play against us unrestrained the whole force of their capital, credit, and industry. Who knows not, that the British merchants hold the Sceptre of Legislation in the British Parliament? Can the British Minister, all-powerful as he boasts himself, abolish the Slave Trade? have they not compelled the British Parliament to break its faith, even when pledged to vindicate the Rights of Humanity? when did the British merchants cease to turn the power of their Legislature against Ireland? what has been their conduct during the last enlightened century, from the time they compelled King William to destroy your woollen manufacture, till the time they disfigured your Propositions? I am confident, that when the Corporation of Cork shall reflect again upon the subject, they will be sensible that they would rather be injured than benefited by an Union: Cork, in return for her provisions, imports into Ireland chiefly the luxuries of life; the wines and commodities of the South of Europe; when an Union shall have banished her principal inhabitants and landed proprietors, to whom will she sell her luxuries? Spain and Portugal will not take her provisions, but in return for their commodities of luxury; and so far the trade of Cork must decline.

But English capital is to flow into Ireland; when we obtained real commercial advantages, when we obtained the West India trade, no English capital flowed into Ireland; Ireland was then in a state of peace and of rising prosperity: here we have certain experience against fallacious speculation.—Is it, at this time, in this state of the country, that the plodding merchant of Britain

ſhall ſet his firm afloat, and ſail over to Ireland on his bags of gold, with a pen in one hand and a ſword in the other, to have the honour of joining a corps of our city yeomanry? At any time, what is more injurious to a mercantile houſe, than the change of ſituation? the merchant who would not change the profitable atmoſphere of Threadneedle-ſtreet for the airy elegance of Portman-ſquare, would now exchange the ſecurity and protection of England, for the convulſed, dependant, militariſed Ireland.

Is the drain of ſpecie, by the increaſe of abſentees, to be a commercial advantage? when the money tranſmitted to abſentees ſhall much exceed the balance of our trade, our ſpecie muſt neceſſarily vaniſh, as was the caſe in Scotland, in conſequence of her Union. Let the Houſe conſider, whether at this day the general balance of our trade compenſates for the drain by abſentees: but how much will that drain be encreaſed, when not only all the rich men of the country muſt be baniſhed, but when the man, who would ſolicit even a gauger's place, muſt ſolicit at Whitehall?

The loſs of ſpecie was not the only evil that Scotland ſuffered by an Union. The Union of two Crowns, about to be ſeparated, compenſated thoſe evils; but the Crown of Ireland is inſeparable, united and identified with that of Great Britain; we cannot gain the only benefit that Scotland gained; but the very Act by which ſhe gained it, ſubmitted her to a great political evil —it made her Conſtitution, as far as the treaty of Union went, incapable of amendment, except by the violation of ſolemn compact. She never could have obtained the Law of Treaſon, or the abolition of her heritable offices and juriſdictions, if the Britiſh Parliament had not directly violated the Act of Union.— The Britiſh Parliament were placed in this dilemma, either to leave Scotland ſubject to bad laws and inſtitutions, or to break forcibly through the moſt ſolemn engagement. She preferred the latter: perhaps wiſely; but when, for her own benefit, ſhe preferred the ſame line of conduct with regard to taxation, for ſuch was the unanimous opinion of Scotland with regard to the Malt tax, not the unanimous deſire of every Scotch repreſentative could break the Act of Union. Such is the abſurdity of a written Conſtitution, happily ridiculed by Mr. Burke in his firſt Philippic againſt the firſt "*unalterable*" Conſtitution of France; for he well knew, that the beſt part of the Britiſh Conſtitution was the "*lex non ſcripta.*"

But it is not on ſuch petty conſiderations that Ireland will reject a meaſure that involves her liberty and independance for ever. —This attempt of the Britiſh Miniſter is more atrocious than any of the incorporating ſchemes of the French Republic. The nations when France incorporated, had no free Conſtitutions to

loſe.—Brabant had ſeen her *joyeuſe entrée* trampled under foot, long before the French entered Flanders.—Had the ſlaves of Savoy, or the prieſts of Avignon, rights, liberties, or a conſtitution to loſe?—And yet even the contemptible Avignon, prieſt-ridden and pope-ridden, did not ſubmit with bloodleſs hands to her Union, and did not fall, untill mangled and breathleſs, at the feet of her political butcher and incorporating tyrant.—But it is not an affair of ſuch petty intereſts; it is not an affair of pariſh politics, as it has been called, when a free and a populous nation is called upon to ſurrender the management of her own concerns for ever.—It is not whether the Sabin name ſhall be loſt in the Roman; whether a diſhonoured nation ſhall ſink into the arms of her conquerors.—The Britiſh Miniſter indeed may wiſh to raiſe a new altar to Neptune; he may wiſh to make Ireland the ſacrifice; he may wiſh to raviſh from her, her deareſt rights and intereſts; and on this Houſe alone, may it perhaps depend this day to ſave our country.

Mr. BARRINGTON roſe to give his decided ſupport to the motion—a motion which he conceived the future peace and ſecurity of Ireland abſolutely required—and which could not be oppoſed but by the enemies of both.

On the laſt night the queſtion of a Legiſlative Union had met with unequivocal diſapprobation from the moſt reſpectable and independant minority that ever oppoſed a miniſterial meaſure; and he truſted a majority againſt it would this night put the queſtion effectually at reſt.

But as the Parliament juſtly reprobated this meaſure of the Britiſh Miniſter, he thought they were called upon to ſubſtitute ſome other arrangement which might tranquiliſe the public mind—and tend to give an equal intereſt to all the inhabitants of Ireland in the preſervation of its freedom and independance—He had too long witneſſed the deſperate conſequences of national diſunion;—but he now looked with an eager eye to the annihilation of theſe ruinous animoſities which the Britiſh Government had ſo long ſucceſsfully fomented—and now ſo treacherouſly made uſe of.

The vicious project of a Legiſlative Union avowedly intended to put down Proteſtant proſperity—annihilate Catholic claims—and equally extinguiſh the liberties of both ſects—had already opened the eyes of every ſect and claſs of Iriſhmen, to the dangers that awaited their country—and promoted a tendency to the national reconciliation, which was now the only bulwark againſt national ſlavery, and he truſted would induce any ſect to forget their private injuries in the public ſecurity.

Mr. Barrington then went into a defence of the Iriſh Bar, which he ſaid had been moſt falſly and inſolently aſperſed;—

ſpringing from the firſt families in Ireland, it ſpoke the ſenſe of the nation.—The Iriſh Lawyers had ſaved their country by their ſpirit as ſoldiers—and again would help to ſave it by their principles as politicians;—they had rouſed the nation to a ſenſe of its danger, and would perſevere in its defence to the laſt extremity.

Their ſpirit—their independance—their integrity and their loyalty had been tried and ſtood the teſt;—and their late Prime Serjeant had reflected an honour on the profeſſion, which the profeſſion had been emulous to return;—he ſtood higher in their regard by his diſmiſſal,—and his ſucceſſor would ſoon feel the degradation of ſo deteſtable a ſituation.—Mr. Barrington warned the Miniſter againſt proceeding in a meaſure which would drive the country to deſperation—and might eventually prove the downfall of the Britiſh Empire;—he had deceived the Britiſh Miniſter by falſe repreſentations of our ſituation and temper—and ſhould anſwer for the conſequence of ſo wrong-headed a policy.—Having given his opinion fully on a former night, he ſhould not now go into further detail, and ſhould only congratulate the Houſe on the proſpect of a diviſion which would at once aſſert the independance and ſecure the liberties of Ireland.

The Attorney General ſpoke a few words in ſupport of the Paragraph; after which a diviſion took place, when there appeared

For the expunging the Paragraph relating to the Union, -	109
Againſt the motion, -	104
Majority againſt the Paragraph,	5

Tellers for the Ayes, Lord Tyrone and Mr. Smith.
Tellers for the Noes, Mr. Ponſonby and Sir Laurence Parſons.

Lord Castlereagh ſaid, that he had brought forward this meaſure in compliance with the duties of his ſituation, and with no other view than the mutual advantage of both countries, and the general ſtrength, welfare, and proſperity of the Empire. He would be a ſilly Miniſter indeed, who would bring forward ſuch a meaſure at this day, with any inferior views; becauſe he muſt know that any objects of a different nature muſt defeat, inſtead of anſwering a great imperial purpoſe. However, thoſe Gentlemen who thought fit to oppoſe the meaſure, without ſo much as examining a tittle of its purport, or its arrangements, would recollect, that when the day ſhould come that this Houſe would feel the neceſſity of its adoption, upon their own heads be the reſponſibility for rejecting this night a meaſure of ſuch

high importance to the tranquillity and ſolid happineſs of their country.

Mr. PONSONBY now roſe and ſaid, that in order that no Miniſter might hereafter venture to bring forward in that Houſe a meaſure ſo obnoxious, he ſhould move a Reſolution to be entered in the Journals, in the following words:—"Reſolved, That "this Houſe will ever maintain the undoubted birth-right of "Iriſhmen, by preſerving an independant Parliament of Lords "and Commons, reſident within this kingdom, as ſettled and "approved by his Majeſty and the Britiſh Parliament in 1782." This Motion, after ſome converſation, was withdrawn.

Col. FITZGERALD brought up the Report of the Addreſs to to his Excellency.

Lord CASTLEREAGH then ſuggeſted the propriety of expunging a Paragraph of ſimilar purport to that rejected from the Addreſs; which being done, the Addreſs was agreed to, and ordered that Mr. Speaker, attended by the Houſe, do wait on his Excellency to preſent the ſame.

Lord Caſtlereagh now moved a Reſolution of Thanks and Approbation from this Houſe to Sir J. B. Warren, and the Officers, Sailors and Marines under his command, for their gallant conduct in the defeat of the enemy on the coaſt of this Kingdom, on their way to invade it.

Agreed to *nem. con.* and ordered that Mr. Speaker do communicate the ſame.

SATURDAY—JAN. 26.

The SPEAKER having taken the chair,

Lord CASTLEREAGH moved, that a writ of election be iſſued, for the borough of Newry, in the room of the Right Honourable Iſaac Corry, who had vacated his ſeat, by accepting the office of Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Mr. G. PONSONBY ſaid, the Noble Lord was ſomewhat premature in his motion, for that Mr. Corry had not vacated his ſeat, as he was not Chancellor of the Exchequer. The office, he ſaid, was derived immediately and ſolely from the Crown, and no new writ of appointment having been made by his Majeſty, the Right Hon. Baronet, who had recently exerciſed ſo honourably the duties of that office, was ſtill the undoubted and legal Chancellor of the Exchequer, although the name, or the buſineſs, may have been uſurped by another.

Sir J. PARNEL ſaid, that certainly he felt that he was Chancellor of the Exchequer, under the circumſtances mentioned by his honourable and learned Friend;—but as, unfortunately, he happened to differ in opinion from his Majeſty's Miniſters in this kingdom, on a great national queſtion, he alſo felt himſelf called upon by delicacy to thoſe Miniſters, and his duty to his Country, to counſel his Sovereign only through the medium of his parliamentary privilege and conduct.

Lord CASTLEREAGH acknowledged that he had been premature; and ſtanding corrected by the opinion of the honourable and learned Gentleman who ſpoke laſt but one, he begged leave to withdraw his motion, which was granted accordingly.

The Houſe then adjourned for half an hour.

The SPEAKER reported, that the Houſe had attended his Excellency with the Addreſs to his Majeſty, and he was pleaſed to return for anſwer, viz.

"That he would forthwith tranſmit their dutiful and loyal Addreſs to his Majeſty."

The Speaker alſo reported that he had preſented the Addreſs of Thanks of that Houſe to his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant, for his moſt excellent Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, and that his Excellency was pleaſed to return the following Anſwer:

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

"Your kind Addreſs, which conveys an approbation of my "conduct in ſuch marked and flattering language, is highly "grateful to my feelings.

"I am aſſured that in this arduous conjuncture you will ſteadily purſue thoſe meaſures which will be moſt effectual for in"creaſing the ſtrength of the Empire, and employing its reve"nues againſt the common enemy; and I ſhall faithfully repre"ſent to his Majeſty, your zeal for his ſervice and for the gene"ral intereſts of Great Britain and Ireland."

Ordered, That his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Anſwer be entered on the Journals of this Houſe.

Lord COLE moved the Thanks of the Houſe to the Britiſh fencible and militia Regiments, who came in time of danger to this country, to afford protection to its loyal inhabitants. The motion was ſeconded by ſeveral Members on his ſide of the Houſe.

Lord CASTLEREAGH ſaid, that previous to the departure of thoſe regiments who had ſo generouſly and ſeaſonably volunteered their aſſiſtance to this Country, it was his intention to have made a ſimilar motion to that which had been juſt propoſed; but he

did not regret his having been anticipated, as it could not have fallen into more ſuitable hands, nor have been brought forward more ſeaſonably than at the preſent time; thoſe troops having but a few days ſince renewed their offers of ſervice in this country. He concluded by heartily coinciding with the motion of the Noble Lord.

Col. MAXWELL in a few words expreſſed his warm concurrence with the motion. The readineſs of thoſe troops to aſſiſt their loyal fellow-ſubjects in this country, merited gratitude and thanks, notwithſtanding that the native courage and loyalty of the country had left them nothing to do.

Hon. D. BROWNE paſſed an high eulogium on the Britiſh militia, and the generoſity with which they had waived the right of refuſal, with which the laws had armed them, and their promptneſs to face that war of Rebellion which had been raiſed in this kingdom. He commented particularly on the conduct of the Marquis of Buckingham's regiment, which had actually embarked for the purpoſe of aſſiſting this country, when menaced by the French fleet in Bantry Bay. He was happy that this motion was propoſed at a moment when there appeared in that Houſe a jealouſy and diſtruſt of the beſt intended acts, and the moſt important kindneſſes, manifeſted by the ſiſter Country—[a general and loud cry of No! No!]—He was happy, he ſaid, to ſtand contradicted; and hoped always to find ſimilar appearances equally fallacious. He expreſſed his hearty concurrence to the motion.

Col. BAGWELL, in ſupporting the motion, paid his tribute of approbation to the Britiſh militia; and ſaid, that the regiment he had the honour to command (the county Tipperary militia) were ſo ſenſible of the generous conduct of their Britiſh fellow ſoldiers, that the very day before he left the country, his ſerjeant major waited on him, to offer the ſervices of the regiment in any part of Great Britain, which any public exigence might render neceſſary.

The vote of thanks paſſed unanimouſly and was ordered to be communicated by the Speaker.

Mr. CORRY moved for ſeveral communications relative to the Public Accounts; he alſo moved for leave to bring in a Bill, to amend and explain a Bill paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion, for preventing perſons tranſported from returning to theſe kingdoms, or going to any Country at war with his Majeſty—Leave given.—He further moved, that his Excellency the Lord Lieutenant's Speech be taken into conſideration on Monday, after which the Houſe adjourned to that day.

MONDAY, JANUARY 28.

The Right Hon. Lord CASTLEREAGH roſe and ſaid, that in order that an opportunity might be given to the public officers to bring forward the public accounts, and that no interruption might occur to the public buſineſs of Parliament, in getting through the buſineſs of the nation, he ſhould now move that the Houſe at its riſing do adjourn till the 7th of February.

Sir JOHN PARNEL oppoſed the motion, and ſaid there never was a moment in which it was more neceſſary than at preſent for the Parliament of Ireland to remain ſitting, vigilant at its poſt: For if he was to credit the reports made in the Engliſh newſpapers of the diſcuſſions reſpecting the affairs of this country, which took place in another Parliament, and the declaration made by the Britiſh Miniſter "that he would unceaſingly perſevere in a meaſure reſpecting the internal ſituation of this country," to which the Parliament of Ireland had ſo recently and ſo decidedly given its negative, he truſted the Houſe would ſee the neceſſity of reſiſting the meaſure of adjournment, at leaſt until they ſhould know what were the ſentiments of the Britiſh Miniſter and the Britiſh Parliament, when they ſhould come to learn the ſentiments expreſſed and the deciſion which took place in the Parliament of Ireland on this ſubject; for it was impoſſible the Britiſh Miniſter or Parliament could have known the ſentiments of the Parliament of Ireland, when they had diſcuſſed the meaſure on the very ſame day it was rejected here.—The Noble Lord near (Caſtlereagh) though he had ſaid he would not loſe ſight of the meaſure, yet had declared he never ſhould think of paſſing it againſt the ſenſe of the country, and of Parliament—indeed no Miniſter of any talent or wiſdom would. The Britiſh Miniſter he knew to be a man of great talents and great wiſdom, who, he was convinced, however highly he approved of the meaſure, would not think of preſſing it againſt every ſentiment of ſound diſcretion.—He muſt therefore preſume his declarations on the ſubject were made under a miſtake, or a miſrepreſentation of the ſentiments of the Parliament and people of Ireland; and convinced he was that ſo ſoon as that great man ſhould come to know the deciſion which had taken place in that Houſe upon the ſubject, he could not be either ſo impolitic or ſo raſh as to perſevere. That Houſe and the people of Ireland had learnt, ſince the deciſion of Thurſday laſt, to conſider the queſtion as at reſt; that the declaration of the Britiſh Miniſter could not fail now to excite new alarms, nor could thoſe alarms ever be quiet in this country, ſo long as the people could conſider the meaſure as ſtill hanging over them; and if the Britiſh Miniſter were to perſiſt in the declaration after the ſenſe of the Iriſh Parliament and

Iriſh people were known to him, it is impoſſible for any friend to his country or Britiſh connexion, to contemplate the conſequences without the moſt ſerious alarm. With reſpect to the public buſineſs, there exiſted in his mind no occaſion whatever to adjourn the Parliament on that account. No adjournment at leaſt ſhould take place until the reſult ſhould be known of the deciſion adopted by the Iriſh Parliament on the ſentiments of the Britiſh Cabinet, and Parliament ſhould continue ſitting and be ready to act, as occaſion might require, and to vindicate its own independance and maintain its Conſtitution. He was actuated by no other motive but a conſideration for the tranquillity of the country, and the general welfare of the Empire, and no man could be more ready to ſacrifice largely for thoſe deſirable ends; but it was impoſſible this country could be tranquil until that meaſure was at reſt; therefore if the Britiſh Miniſter was reſolved to preſs it forward to diſcuſſion, contrary to the ſenſe of Parliament, the ſooner it was decided the better.

Lord CASTLEREAGH roſe and ſaid, the Right Hon. Baronet himſelf furniſhed by his arguments the ſtrongeſt reaſons for the neceſſity of the adjournment. The Right Hon. Baronet had heretofore recommended that all diſcuſſion on this ſubject ſhould be conducted with temperance and moderation; but unfortunately, in evincing his high jealouſy for the parliamentary independance of Ireland, a ſpecies of intemperate warmth had crept into his manner of treating the ſubject. That Houſe would but ill ſupport its own dignity, if it were to be ruled in its proceedings by the unauthenticated reports of newſpapers; it ſhould wait for authentic documents, whereon to govern its conduct. But what was the language attributed to the Britiſh Miniſter in diſcuſſing this topic in the Britiſh Parliament? Nothing more than what had already been uſed by himſelf (Lord C.) in that Houſe, merely recommending the meaſure of Union to the conſideration of Parliament, and declaring it to be a meaſure, in his conception ſo eſſentially indiſpenſable to perpetuate the connexion between both kingdoms, to conſolidate their mutual ſtrength, and promote their mutual proſperity, that he ſhould never loſe ſight of it. Certainly not meaning that he would, or could preſs it againſt the Iriſh Parliament and the Iriſh people, if that ſentiment ſhould appear to be generally againſt the meaſure; but expreſſing his own full conviction of its utility and indiſpenſability for the ends propoſed; and he would not deſerve to be a Miniſter, who though ſuch a meaſure might for the preſent be contrary to the ſenſe of Parliament and of the nation, would bind himſelf by any declaration that might forever hereafter preclude him from propounding that or any other meaſure for the conſideration of Parliament, which he, as

a Miniſter, bound to promote the good of the country, ſhould conceive to be directed for that end. For though the meaſure would be now oppoſite to the ſenſe of Parliament, and perhaps of the people, a time might come when the queſtion might be better underſtood, and both the people and the Parliament ſolicit the meaſure. If ſuch a time ſhould come, would the Miniſter be bound by a declaration that he had abandoned it? Certainly it could not be the wiſh of the Britiſh Government to preſs the meaſure againſt the ſenſe of the country, when that ſenſe was known; and therefore, gentlemen, by an untimely warmth on this ſubject, imputed that to Government, which Government never intended. However, as the Right Hon. Baronet ſeemed to admit the propriety of awaiting the reſult of the diſcuſſion of the Iriſh Parliament by the ſentiments of the Britiſh Cabinet, the public officers would employ their time with much greater advantage for the public in their reſpective departments, by preparing the public buſineſs for parliamentary examination, than by meeting day after day to do nothing.

Mr. BARRINGTON oppoſed the adjournment, and inveighed againſt the ſpeech of the Britiſh Miniſter on this ſubject. A Noble Lord had talked of coolneſs in diſcuſſing the ſubject; but it was that kind of propoſition, ſo inſulting to the honour and the ſenſe of the Iriſh nation, as no honeſt Iriſhman, alive to the love of his country, or who had any feeling for national honour, could hear with coolneſs. There was not, he affirmed, a man within either nation more zealouſly attached in loyalty to his King and the Government than himſelf, nor who would ſacrifice more chearfully to the maintenance of both; but if the honour and the dignity of the Iriſh Parliament was to be again outraged, by an attempt to preſs upon them the odious meaſure of an Uuion, againſt which that Houſe had already contended with ſo much ſpirit, virtue, and honeſt indignation, though ſupported by the moſt inſulting attempts to awe the honeſt independance of the members of that Houſe, by diſmiſſing from the higheſt ſituations ſome of the oldeſt and moſt reſpectable ſervants of the Crown, and beſtowing their places on men who had no merit, but ſupporting the politics of Government—he declared, that he for one, would go every length to oppoſe it in every ſhape and in all its ramifications. The people of Ireland ſhould be told, and in the ſtrongeſt manner, of this daring attack on the independance of their Parliament and the liberties of their country; they ſhould find in that Parliament the faithful guardians of their liberties and rights; and in the ſpirit of both, the Britiſh Miniſter would ſee the raſhneſs of his attempting to perſevere. He was firmly of opinion with the Right Hon. Baronet, that the Houſe ought vigilantly to ſit from day to day, to guard againſt every advance of

this inſidious meaſure; and if it ſhould be perſevered in, that Houſe ought to come forthwith to ſome ſtrong declaration in aſſertion of its own authority and independance.

Sir HENRY CAVENDISH ſupported the adjournment, as a meaſure neceſſary to give the Country time to expreſs its ſenſe generally on the ſubject. The ſenſe of the Country, he was convinced, was not generally againſt the meaſure; he had converſed this day with a gentleman of great reſpectability from the county of Cork, who aſſured him, all that province were decidedly in favour of the meaſure.

Hon. Mr. TRENCH was for the adjournment, as the beſt mode of preventing the agitation of the public mind, ſo long anxious upon this queſtion that it required time to repoſe; it would alſo afford time to collect the ſenſe of the country at large on the ſubject, which the ſenſe of the Houſe had already conſidered as abandoned, and which he truſted the Britiſh Miniſter, whoſe declaration was made evidently under a miſconception of that ſenſe and without any knowledge of its deciſion, would never think of perſevering in that meaſure againſt the ſenſe of the Parliament and people of Ireland.

Sir JOHN FREKE roſe in conſequence of what had fallen from a Right Hon. Bart. (Sir H. Cavendiſh) touching the ſentiments of the people of Munſter. He had not this day converſed with many gentlemen from that country, but he had received letters from ſome of the moſt reſpectable and beſt informed gentlemen in that province, which ſo far from declaring the people there unanimous in favour of an Union poſitively aſſured him of the ſtrongeſt perſuaſion, that had the vote of Thurſday night paſſed in favour of that meaſure, the whole province would have been the next day in open rebellion; and added, that it would not be very ſafe for the Members who voted for the meaſure to return to that part of the country.

Colonel BAGWELL ſaid, that he would only ſpeak in this point for that county in Munſter which he had the honour to repreſent, (Tipperary.) He had received ſeveral letters from ſome of the beſt informed gentlemen in that country, and ſo had his colleague, declaring the whole county to a man decidedly averſe to the meaſure of an Union.

Mr. PLUNKET condemned the declaration of the Britiſh Miniſter, which was made under the influence of ignorance and deluſion, as to what were the real ſentiments of the Parliament and people of Ireland on the ſubject of Union.—He muſt ſuppoſe that the Britiſh Miniſter had been taught to reckon upon the certain and infallible ſucceſs of his project for influencing the Iriſh

Parliament, and he could not have diſcovered his error in the deciſion of that Parliament, when he had the temerity to utter the ſpeech alluded to, and of the authenticity of which there was pretty good evidence in a confidential paper of the Miniſter's (the Sun.) The public mind (as the Hon. Member had obſerved) ſtood in need of repoſe after ſo much agitation as it had recently ſuſtained upon this topic, and therefore he ſhould not oppoſe the motion for adjournment; but if it ſhould appear in the next meeting of the Houſe, that the Britiſh Miniſter ſtill perſiſted in his raſh deſign, he would call upon every gentleman on this ſide of the Houſe who had already voted againſt the meaſure, and upon any gentlemen on the other ſide, who through falſe delicacy had not reſiſted the propoſal for entertaining it, to come forward in vindication of the honour, the dignity, and the independance of the Iriſh Parliament and the Iriſh nation, and by ſome ſtrong and decided declaration put an *extinguiſher* upon this odious and abominable meaſure. The Noble Lord had intimated that the time might come when the Parliament and the country would be glad to ſolicit the meaſure, as the only means of effectually ſecuring tranquillity. He hoped the Noble Lord did not mean to inſinuate that meaſures would be adopted to produce ſuch a ſituation in the country as would create the neceſſity of ſuch a ſituation, in order that "what was ſpoken by the Prophets might be fulfilled."—He was not overfond to ſee a Miniſter ruling the country, who ſeemed to have a taſte for verifying his own predictions as to the neceſſity he foretold; and he wiſhed to ſee that Miniſter and his Britiſh collegue removed from office, a circumſtance which could not much affect them, as they ſeemed to cool to feel for any event.

Mr. M'Cleland conſidered the declaration of the Noble Lord (Caſtlereagh) to be merely that he would not bring forward the queſtion of an Union againſt the ſenſe of Parliament and the country, on that principle he would ſupport the adjournment, but if the country ſpoke out againſt the meaſure of an Union, then would he be found as ſtrenuous in oppoſing it, as he had heretofore been in its ſupport.

Mr. Dobbs ſaid, that from the deciſion which the Houſe had given, and the declaration of the Noble Lord, every man within and without thoſe walls conſidered the queſtion of Union as abandoned; but from the declaration of the Britiſh Miniſter "that he would loſe ſight of the meaſure but with his life," that Houſe would ſee the indiſpenſable neceſſity of its unceaſing vigilance, in guarding every paſs, and fortifying every avenue by which the liberties of Ireland and her Legiſlative independance might be attacked. He therefore called upon gentlemen who had ſucceeded in the firſt defeat of the meaſure, to watch vigilantly

on their posts, and by a constant and unremitting attendance to their duty in that House, to leave no opportunity for surprise when attack was openly and immutably avowed and determined.

Mr. EGAN did not resist the question of adjournment, but hoped Gentlemen would take the advantage of that recess, in apprising their constituents in every part of the kingdom of the danger which menace the liberty and independance of their country, of guarding them against insidious attempts to cajole their understandings, and of coming back to Parliament fortified by their public and unequivocal declaration of sentiment on this subject; and thus, he trusted, the manly and dignified spirit of an Irish Parliament, backed by the resolutions of an Irish people, determined to maintain that Parliament in asserting and vindicating the constitutional independance of their country, would deter any Minister from venturing to attempt the subversion of that independance. If, in the year 1782, when this country attained that independance, any Minister was found daring enough to hazard such a proposal, there would be men found in this House to rise and move an address to his Majesty, praying him to dismiss from his councils, and remove from office such a Minister; and if any farther attempt should be made to force this measure on the House, he trusted men would still be found to bring forward such a motion.

Mr. KNOX said a few words to the same purport.

Sir B. ROCHE asked the gentlemen who opposed the Union, how it was possible things could remain in the state they had so long continued? He hoped those gentlemen when they should return from their constituents after the recess, if they should still be resolved to oppose an Union, would be ready to bring forward some other effectual plan for securing the tranquillity of the country, and putting a stop to anarchy and confusion.

Mr. WOLFE (of Forenaught) took this opportunity to express his regret at not having been present on the discussion of the Union question; on that measure, however, he thought it but fair, manly and honourable, for every who had not voted, to declare his sentiments, and his own ever must decidedly be against that measure.

Mr. BROOKE rose to declare, that had he been present, he should have certainly voted against the measure.

The question being now put, was carried in the affirmative without further opposition.

Col. (MAXWELL) BARRY said, he had no objection to the adjournment moved by the Noble Lord; but as from the declaration

A

LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT.

=Dublin=

PRINTED BY JAMES MOORE, COLLEGE-GREEN.

1799.

LETTER

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RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT.

SIR,

YOU are the miniſter of innovation; and, from the hour that you ceaſed being the active agent of reform, you have become the indirect inſtrument of its attainment. The latter end of your adminiſtration will yet juſtify its beginning; what the people themſelves have failed in doing, Pitt will effectuate; and the ſon will accompliſh within the century the famous prediction of the father.

The idea of an incorporate Union between Britain and Ireland ſeems purely an Engliſh meaſure, framed in the Engliſh cabinet (probably forced upon an Iriſh one) for Engliſh purpoſes, and from an Engliſh ſtate neceſſity, brought on by exiſting circumſtances, of which in words and works you, ſir, are the chief, or at leaſt oſtenſible author; for a high and mighty monoſyllable as you feel yourſelf to be, you are, as your great father was before you—but (and nothing but) the convenient tool of a regulated faction. In the uniform habit of curſing and mimicking the French revolution, your inverted order ends where *it* began, by decreeing the unity and indiviſibility of the empire.

. . . . . .

It is not from the boſom of a parental, providential, impartial care, from any conſideration of equal relationſhip to the whole family of the people, that this plan has proceeded. It ſtrikes me, and I believe it ſtrikes you, merely as a *military* idea,

idea, as much ſo as the concentration of forces on the felt weakneſs of ſcattered garriſons. It ariſes, as I think all your miniſterial meaſures have done, not from original genius, or fertility of reſource, but from the irreſiſtible preſſure of temporary exigencies. You have ever been the paſſive puppet of ſeſſional expediency; the ſlave and ſuppliant of exiſting circumſtances, impotent to create them, and unable to control. Directed, as you ſeem always to have been by the directory, this warlike procedure of an Union is nothing more nor leſs than the reply valiant to their late levy of 200,000 men; not by any means proceeding from a magnanimous care of the common-weal, combining the philoſophy of the hiſtorian with the providence of the legiſlator.

The exiſting circumſtances, (beyond which boundary you were never known to ſtray) the period choſen for ſuch a propoſition, the ſecrecy long adopted, the profeſſion

feſſion and habits of that perſon whoſe title of lieutenant-general very properly precedes that of general governor, the ſudden tranſportation of the Engliſh militia—all appear to manifeſt this incorporate Union as, in reality, a mere *ruſe de guerre*, the conſequences of which, as a civil, political, *national*, meaſure, have not arreſted—and perhaps, in the hurry of the manœuvre, could not arreſt the attention of Mr. Pitt.

It has been your policy, ſir, (and I think in this inſtance it is patriotic) to keep, by every means, the ſeat of war out of England. For this end you have endeavoured of late, with indifferent ſucceſs, to form continental coalitions, which, if they did take place, might avert impending danger, and whether they did or not, might ſtill have the effect of dividing and diſtracting the attention of the enemy. There has for ſome time paſt been reaſon to fear that this iſland might form the field of final

conflict

conflict between the two hoſtile powers or principles, contending for the empire of the world; and this meaſure of an Union will, in my mind, make that certain, which was but probable. It is on Iriſh ground, and not on Engliſh, that *you* would deſire the battle to be tried—here, as a true Engliſhman, you would wiſh the arena of conflict—and here, if any where, the point of contact, and tug of war. The meaſure of an Union, therefore, comes not ſo naturally from a cabinet council, as from a council of war, for the ſole purpoſe of placing this iſland *eaſily*, *expeditiouſly*, and *effectually*, in a ſtate of military requiſition, preparatory to its expected deſtination; we are to be ſhaped and rounded into a buckler for Britain—but it is *on* the buckler the heavy ſtrokes will fall.

You have made up your mind for the indefinite prolongation of the war. Some years have elapſed ſince you told the houſe that you were engaged in a conteſt which would

would not end but with your life, with all their lives; and it is perfectly obvious, that all the councils, purpoſes, and plans of the two great contending European powers (*your* head, ſir, is one of them) are turned entirely into a military direction, and they are endeavouring, with rival celerity, to mold, or rather to hammer, whatever is malleable in ſurrounding countries, not into inſtruments of peace, but into weapons of war. No country ſo great as to be ſafe within the wind of this commotion, none ſo ſmall as not to be inſtigated, ſeduced or terrified, into this perilous, but to them profitleſs, conteſt. France wiſhes to aſſimilate abroad. Britain haſtens to conſolidate at home. The ſtrength which the one acquires by expanſion, the other ſtrives to get by conſolidation, by compreſſing all its parts cloſer to a common centre, by making its own centre the centre of the whole ſyſtem. This is the purpoſe of the Union—*not* to give ſpeed to the plough, or add wings to the ſhuttle—

but

but to concentrate the military force of the empire, and to organize the country ſo as beſt to favour the action of the military machine; to make an arſenal here, a poſt there, and an advanced redoubt of the whole iſland. You will no doubt direct that the Iriſh ſhould be ſuffered, by the garriſon of the iſland, to buy and ſell, like the Jews at Gibraltar.

The Union *cannot* therefore be deferred, as you judged proper in the viceroyalty of Fitzwilliam, until the period of *peace*, becauſe it is neither for the object or ends of peace it is *now* thought of. It is ſuggeſted in the moſt exaſperated ſeaſon of the moſt exaſperated war, ſuggeſted from military views, under military auſpices, with the proximate intention of converting the country into a complete military eſtabliſhment, and the ultimate reſolution of continuing this ſort of regimen, until reſiſtance of any kind, or from any rank,

will be thought as nothing leſs than mutiny, and to be treated accordingly.

You ſeem to me, ſir, to have gained more accurate and extenſive information concerning the ſtate of this country, than any of our great men in office were willing, or perhaps able, to give you. You ſeem to have concluded that our parliament has entirely loſt the confidence of the people, and, along with this, *that* controuling power neceſſary in a government, which *muſt now* aſſume a more than legiſlative ſeverity. It is become in your mind neceſſary for the ſupport of religion, good government, and ſocial order, to brace up with an iron collar the *diſtorted* ſpine of a body politic, become already too weak to ſupport itſelf, and grown decrepit even in infancy. The worſe than Egyptian plague of Iriſh Union, may have crept into places leaſt to be thought of, and for fear of loſing any of them at a time of ſuch fearful uncertainty,

you

you have thought it expedient to hold faſt theſe kingdoms, like keys, by a metal ring of Britiſh manufacture. Take care! One of them, at leaſt, has been miſlaid, and may have been falſified.

From that fatal, or that fortunate hour, in which it was your choice to call forth the deſperate energies of the French people, rather than their firſt affections, which you could *at that time* have commanded; from that hour, in which your grand coalition frightened them out of all fear—but for their wives and children; urging them on to the ſame prodigies of natural inſtinct that the hen diſplays againſt the kite, and makes the lioneſs terrible when robbed of her young—when you deemed it impoſſible for two nations to maintain under different forms of government the uſual relations of life, or to continue bound by the ſympathy of their common nature, and the intereſts of their common liberty; from that ominous or auſpicious period of firſt

deviation, you have been driven along a courſe of conduct rather by neceſſity than obſtinacy or perſeverance. The ſtrong hand of deſtiny has ſilently led the miniſter of peace, and procraſtination, into the region of hazardous innovation, gloomy antipathy, and interminable war. To this ſole object are bent every paſſion and power of your mind, and this Union is now thought of merely to make Ireland a more productive war contribution. By what means? By ſimplifying the complexity of our conſtitution into a more complete unity and force of the executive power, without a danger of its being affected in future by impotence, irreſolution, and perſonal qualities of chief governors, or of being any longer thwarted by a capricious, proud, and ſelfiſh ariſtocracy. The fierce policy of Richelieu is combined with the ſerpentine guile of Mazarin, in order to break down thoſe provincial kingſhips (differing in name only from thoſe of old)

and

and to wheel away the obſtructing rubbiſh of borough feudality.

But there are no perſons more different than the ſanguine and the ſagacious. The mind of man, or of miniſter, when totally abſorbed in a preſent purſuit, loſes its preſcience, and is unable to ſee far into conſequences. While Richelieu was breaking the ariſtocracy he was preparing the ground for the "tiers etat." While he hewed down with his ax of power the giant ſons of the foreſt, he purified the putrid atmoſphere by more free and full ventilation. The vigorous virtue of the ſoil had then room to quicken, and to luxuriate. Ireland is a ſimilar moraſs of mind, rank rather than effete, and rank with a noxious vegetation. The removal of ſuch high and overſhading trees, as have caſt a deadly mildew on all beneath, may poſſibly improve the face of neglected nature. The ſavagery of the human mind may perhaps ſhew fertility in ſomething better

than

than weeds, and the ſoft verdure of the ſoul may ſpring forth, like thoſe varieties of grateful green, which adorn and animate our lovely iſland. Plans of national education ought to be co-extenſive with the nation, and what of this kind has hitherto been practiced is nothing more than ſcattering a buſhel of ſeed in the bog of Allen. The annihilation of the ariſtocracy (far indeed beyond your conſideration, as it was far from that of Richelieu) may turn out a providential *preparation* of the ſoil for the growth of a national character joining ornament with utility, and literature with liberty, without any artificial manure or any parliamentary compoſt. Necker once thought of regenerating France by his edict upon *ſnuff*, and North imagined Ireland would be renovated by the privilege of growing *tobacco*, but perhaps you will rouſe the ſuſpended animation of the country by an excitement of a more purgent nature, and more permanent effect.

The

The meaſure appears indeed a brave one. It manifeſts much of the hardihood, and ſomewhat of the romance, which poſſeſſed the mind of your father, while the *ariſtocrat* might affirm it was the daring deed of a revolutionary ſpirit, inſtigated by the demon of democracy. The conſequence *he* might aver muſt be the eventual, perhaps immediate change of the preſent government, through the intervention of a military deſpotiſm. The *democrat* might readily acquieſce by recollecting that the extremes of government approximate; the deſpot unconſciouſly introduces the democrat, and this faireſt of iſlands may ariſe more fair from its convulſionary commotion, as from the anarchy of chaos (deſpotiſm is but anarchy) aroſe this faireſt of worlds.

The *ariſtocrat* might ſay, "H.E. is deprecating change, and at the ſame time accuſtoming the mind to change. He proteſts againſt reform, and he practices revolution.

volution. He is againſt the alteration of a cornice, and he is for upſetting the conſtitution. Has this man conſpired with our natural enemies to deſtroy our unrivalled conſtitution, and to endanger the natural as well as political life of our beloved monarch? Did he not begin the war, and continue it, for the more ſpeedy propagation of jacobinical republican principles? Did he not enter with natural artifice concealed under pompous phraſeology (*omnium, quæ diceret aut ageret arte quadam, oſtentator*) into that accurſed coalition at Pilnitz, merely to excite the ſuſpicion of the reſt of Europe, and to ſtrengthen, as we may call it, the family feeling of whole France to one and indiviſible reſiſtance? Did he not connive at the manifeſto of Brunſwick, and the treaty of Toulon—for what purpoſe under heaven but to arouſe the ſpirit general, the univerſal ſoul of France, and to ſtrengthen, by compreſſion, the total elaſticity of that elaſtic nation? Did he not (we beg

pardon

pardon for the ungentlemanlike phrase) let the cat out of the bag, when he gave a conſtitution to Corſica, which might naturally excite the envy, the jealouſy of Ireland, and which has probably rendered more diſcontented our capricious countrymen, who have never been ſatisfied (at leaſt theſe ſix hundred years) with *their own* conſtitution, (applauded however, and upholden by a Yelverton, a Beresford, and a Foſter) did he not, did not Mr. Pitt, by the diſplay of ſuch a democratic conſtitution, in which parliaments were ſhortened, penſioners expelled, and the baſis of repreſentation rendered nearly perſonal, did he not *intend* to make Ireland diſcontented with its own conſtitution? Did he not *feed* war, at firſt, by mouthfuls and half meaſures? Did he not ſubſidize kings to their certain deſtruction, and is he not become the financeering MACK of monarchy? Did he not deliver up the emigrants of France to certain ſlaughter, and is he not at this moment planning the equally

certain deſtruction of all that remain? Is this man, or this miniſter, (who calls himſelf a man) a friend to conſtitution or to revolution? Is he to tranquilize or to revolutionize, to reſuſcitate or to ruin the empire?"

The *democrat* will, perhaps, ſilently ſay, "This man is the indirect miniſter of Providence. He is placed as if in the left hand of God, to perform, perforce, his good-will to mankind, and perhaps it will become a problem to future generations whether in the preſent, liberty has been moſt indebted to Buonaparte, or to Pitt. After having delivered the greateſt part of Europe from chains, he begins *at laſt* with the Britiſh empire. Raſh and reſolute, bold though blind, he is reſolved to cut the riddle, to melt away from vulgar eyes the myſtery of the incoherent connexion called the Iriſh conſtitution, which, whether it is above our reaſon, or whether it is contrary to it, had become a matter of

ſettled

ſettled faith to thoſe political myſties, whoſe chief pleaſure lies in perfectly conceiving, and partially comprehending. He will talk much of ranks and orders, but here he will level them to the duſt. He will take the middle term out of the Iriſh conſtitution, and will leave nothing but king and people, the monarch ſeen only through the medium of a military rule, and the people having no other object, to which they can aſcribe their grievances, than the crown. He will remove the country, by this Union, for a time, far from royal juſtice or mercy, but nearer to the commander in chief: the buſineſs of the ſtate will be tranſacted by aid-de-camps, the whole country will be converted into a great barrack, (I hear the barrack maſter-general is already appointed) and the Iriſh repreſentatives will be what the Scotch are, the wretched ſemblance of their caſtrated country. But ſuch military regimen can laſt only for a ſeaſon. The nature of government will become *too*

plain, which, in the guiſe of an independent legiſlature and an appendant crown, uſed to play ſo prettily with the fancy, and preſerved an influence over mens' minds nearly in proportion to its unintelligibility. Democracy will then operate upon the diſincumbered mind on the ſimple policy of ſound underſtanding, and they whoſe object it has been through life to incite their deſpiſed country to a ſenſe of its own dignity, will act with a ſtronger purchaſe.

The ſubverſion of an eſtabliſhed government (the *democrat* will continue to ſay) is always a work of ſome real, and much apparent difficulty; but when ſuch an attempt is made from the quarter of government itſelf, the difficulty muſt vaniſh, and, in this mortal combat of monarchy and ariſtocracy, the people need only be *lookers on*.—Union may therefore be the deſtined means of aſſimilating what is heterogeneous, of cloſing, in ſome meaſure, that great ſchiſm of ſocial life between the higheſt

highest and loweſt order; and of pouring a healing oblivion over political animoſities, diſguiſed under pretext of religion. Politico-religious aſcendancies will be ſuperſeded, for a ſeaſon, by the iron ſceptre of Britiſh dominancy; parties and leaderſhips will be reabſorbed into one ſuperior central power; orange and green will become diſtinctions of colour in the ſame ſubſtance; and the clanſhips of ariſtocracies will be ſwept away, eventually for the good of the whole, as the deſolation of hierarchical eſtabliſhments has been ſuppoſed by ſome a neceſſary baſis for the reſurrection of pure and primitive chriſtianity.

A great change is imperiouſly called for. The rooted moral and national evil, which muſt ever ſtand in the way of ſocial improvement, and has been the peculiar curſe of this country, is an HABITUAL CONTEMPT (worſe than injury) of the common people, generated at firſt from the

ſpirit

ſpirit of conqueſt, and nurſed by the ſame ſpirit transfuſed into penal codes, ſyſtems of monopoliſm, and creeds of aſcendancy, until it has grown into a diſeaſe, that affects all the higher orders with hereditary contamination. It is the ſcrophula of the proud and powerful, which has totally relaxed and looſened all the joints of ſociety. It has ſpread its acrimony among the patriots of party, the philoſophers of ſchools, and the moſt ſequacious profeſſions.—The ſtanding exception even to the barren benevolence of general ſpeculation is—their native country; and thus it has neceſſarily happened that the extended family feeling, which ought to bind the different ranks of ſociety into one neighbourhood is reſolved into an anarchy of ſeparate intereſts, producing for many years paſt periodical and partial inſurrection, and, of late, more connected and premeditated rebellion.

The

The ſyſtem of conqueſt, which gathers the fruit by cutting down the tree; the ſyſtem of mercantile monopoly, which withdraws the manure from the roots; the ſyſtem of influence, which blaſts and withers the branches, or occaſions ſuch partial circulation of vital juice, as is ſeen ſtrangely to bloom and bloſſom in the midſt of barrenneſs and decay; all theſe ſyſtems rendering the great tree of ſociety ſapleſs and unproductive, are finally reſolvable into that *inveterate contempt* of the lower community, which has hitherto counteracted, and muſt ever counteract the eſtabliſhment of free, equal, and *reciprocal* ſociety.—A great change *is* required, and *muſt* prove ſalutary from whatever quarter it comes—"*J'accepteroie le bien public des mains d'Ariſtaine même.*"

Ireland has been kept in a ſtate of *ſavage* independence; in ſuch a ſtate as might beſt break down, and deſtroy that *mutual* dependence, from which flows the happineſs of the individual, and the true wealth

of

of nations. The inhabitants were infulated to keep the country ſubjugated; the former in the ſtate of nature; the latter an imperial ſlave. Under the combined oppreſſion of manners and of laws, the country throve into a ſort of barbarous independence and public ſervility—no want of capital, but a partial diſtribution of it—much wealth, but no common wealth—much labour acquiring little property.—The palſy of indolence from the abſence of that diffuſible ſtimulus, property; and an incapability, turned at laſt into an unwillingneſs, of transforming and fixing labour into durable poſſeſſion, and capital ſtock.—Irregular, inordinate, and exhauſting *labour*, produced by and for intoxication (the ſource of revenue) inſtead of *induſtry* creating a little ſtock, ſlowly and regularly adding to it; always receiving, always repaying; the happineſs of the individual, the real and imperiſhable wealth of the community. The ultimate object to ſatisfy hunger, which a root ſatisfies; or

rather,

rather, much rather to ſuperſede it by liquor (the corruption of grain) ſtimulating to ſhort, convulſive exertion, corroſive to life, and inſtigating to the madneſs, that maltreats and lacerates the miſerable animal, which yields its patient aſſiſtance.—The labourer not more a proprietor than the proprietor a labourer——A race of hunters, called middlemen (hunters formerly of animals, and latterly of men) introduced in the period of agriculture to invert the progreſſive order of ſociety, and cut off all that cloſe and kind reciprocity, which ought to ſubſiſt between tenant and landlord. The cultivator under the preſſure of a double rent (including tithe, or a triple one) a barbarian under the whole incumbency of ſocial life, with tenure ſo precarious, tenant right ſo diſregarded, as on the expiration of the leaſe inſtantly to give way to the higheſt bidder; without one ſunny ſpot in his whole exiſtence; his proſpects ending with the darkening of the day, and all hope of bettering his ſituation withering and dying in his heart. Then

 ferocious,

ferocious, mad, and calling hope from deſperation, changing torpid miſery into active diſaffection, and riſing by one bound of inſtinct, rather than reaſon, from a ſtate of abandonment and contempt, into reſiſtance, into vindictive inſurrection, into dangerous deliverance, from its *very* danger agitating the ſtrong, but inert mind, fit only for robuſt vices, and now rouſed into a ſenſe of enjoyment, a feeling of pleaſurable elevation, by having it placed in his power to die IN BATTLE.—I come to ſubdue you, ſaid Themiſtocles to the people of Andros, with the help of two powerful deities—neceſſity and force—and we, ſaid the Andrians, have alſo two powerful deities—INDIGENCE and DESPAIR.

In ſuch a ſtate of ſociety—if ſtate it can be called—there muſt be change, and change will ſet the precedent to change.—The new regimen will be rigorous for a while, but it will be impartially ſo.—One equal monopoliſm will abſorb the ſmaller, one mighty dominancy all petty aſcendancies,

cies, and common calamity may produce a common country.—Ariſtocracy, the ally of England will deſert to England, or ſide againſt her—man will remain—the ocean will remain—and the metaphyſics of monarchy, will, in the event, give way to the logic of the people.

Thus, the ſame miniſter who firſt called forth in France the energies that fight for exiſtence, and kept them at the heighth neceſſary for urging reform into revolution, thence into ultra-revolution, thence into a propagation of the ſame revolutionary ſpirit abroad for their more permanent ſecurity at home—this ſame miniſter, after turning the ancient and habitual royaliſm of the plurality of the Iriſh people, at firſt, into ambiguous friendſhip, and, at laſt, into undiſguiſed hoſtility, by feeding them with *rations* of redreſs, inſtead of total and magnanimous emancipation — this ſame Jehu of Jacobiniſm, after having ſown the ſeed of internal Union, and forced the ſociety of United Iriſhmen (of which

which he himſelf was the founder) from the deſpair of reform to the deſperation of revolution; after having haſtened forward a rebellion, which he himſelf helped to create; after having thrown off, with cold ingratitude, the yeomanry of the iſland, that *novel* volunteer army *preſſed* into his ſervice by a certain panic of courage, and at firſt ſet on foot by a few gentlemen of the bar, no doubt, with pure intentions, zealous as they were, to wear the *livery* of liberty, but *ignorant* that they were really raiſing a military array againſt a reform, which, but *for them*, had at the time been inevitable;—this ſame miniſter, conſcious that as France has got all by land, and England has all by ſea, there is no point of contact for the contending powers, but at his own home, or *here*, reſolves at all hazards it ſhall be *here*, if any where, and proviſionally places the Iriſh nation in the hollow ſquare of the Britiſh militia, exemplifying the very ſame hug of French fraternity, which in the caſe of Brabant had called forth his execration—this ſame miniſter,

niſter, in his innovating phrenſy, is now preparing to revolutionize radically, where he made it treaſon, radically, to reform, and, conſidering the apparent apathy of exquiſite ſenſibility, as acquieſcence on the part of the people, he is reſolved, by the rape of an *Union*, to ſeparate thoſe iſlands for ever;—the king takes the APPLE, but his ſervants cut down the TREE."

Thus might the democrat revolve in his mind, wrapping himſelf up in the cloak of ſilence, and quietly ſubmiſſive to the ſtroke of political, as of natural, diſſolution, certain that from the grave of deſpotiſm, liberty would ſoon ariſe in joyful reſurrection. But I who am not ſo much a democrat as an IRISHMAN, and ſo far indeed an Engliſhman, that I would not wiſh a civil war *with* England to be ſuperadded, or even to ſupercede, a civil war, (alas! alas! hitherto the *conſtitution*, and only conſtitution of my country) I have vainly endeavoured to keep a ſafe, but diſhonorable, ſilence on this occaſion; ſtrong nature will burſt through the tongue-tack

of

of party, and hiſtory has recorded, that the ſon, though before dumb, has ſuddenly ſpoken, has cried aloud when he ſaw an *aſſaſſin* ready to plunge a dagger into the *back* of his father.

A ſenſe of paramount duty, ſuperior to the ſnug ſelfiſhneſs of profeſſional prudence, has alone, compelled me to ſwim with the ſhoal of pamphleteers, to add one to thoſe ſprats of popularity, the capricious herring fry of the hour, that are hawked about our ſtreets, and ſworn to be alive, although the ſame moment that they bounce from their element, they ſqueak and die *. I hate

* I have read ſome of thoſe creole publications, neither a good white nor a good black, from the number I except the pamphlet of a philoſopher) and I have ſmiled at ſeeing them aſſume the very ſentiments and often the expreſſions of a ſociety it was their conſtant practice to vilify and calumniate; its cuſtom was not to enter into explanation with calumny, but ſurely it may ſmile at this anomalous race of men, ſcattered in abundance thro' all profeſſions, but of late multiplied ſo prodigiouſly at the bar—who hunt preferment with the ſequaciouſneſs of the hound, of ſurly manners, and ſlippery morality; a claſs of men equally proud and paraſitical, when it ſees them purſuing their venal vocation—and judging before trial the men whom in their hearts they believe upright, honeſt, and inflexible, it ſurely may ſmile, when it pities and forgives them.

I hate the proof of a truiſm, a paraphraſe upon two and two making four; and ſuch I deem *moſt* of the arguments *againſt* an Union, the painful and perſevering expanſion of one globule of gold over twenty, and ſometimes forty leaves. A ſentence from Fletcher of Saltoun outweighs, or is at leaſt an equipoiſe to them all:—"In point of right it is plainly above the power of parliament to attempt any ſuch alteration in the conſtitution, for the plain reaſon that members of parliament are but adminiſtrators, and their acts cannot extend ſo far beyond the power given them by their conſtituents, which as underſtood in general, to ſupport, or amend the conſtitution either by making new laws, or amending old ones; and tho' commiſſions to repreſent in parliament are underſtood as in general and moſt ample terms, yet there is one natural condition, which neither needs, nor ought to be expreſſed, viz: that the undertakers of the commiſſions ſhall contain themſelves within the verge of the conſtitution, for if they exceed this, they uſurp a power which is not given them

them—they violate the conſtitution, they annihilate the conſtituent, and they are *puniſhable* as *uſurpers* and traitors."

This Union, then, is a ſubject, on which, without feeling much, any man can reaſon a little, or any child—and there is a ſpecious analogy in the term Union, which may even make it a ſubject intereſting to the fair. But I think, and I ſay, that the queſtion, which concerns the being of a country, is, in reality, a queſtion of HONOUR, of that high honour, including every other virtue, which, I had almoſt ſaid, is weakened by argument, and is approached by argument, only *to be* weakened, and drawn from its citadel. The nation, that does not feel the debaſement of the very propoſition, deſerves to ſuffer the proſtitution: for as certain propoſals may be made to individuals, in which the injury, monſtrous as it is, is loſt in the inſult; which by the one ſex can be repelled only by a look of ineffable contempt, and by the other, with a blow—ſo there are affronts to nations, on which controverſy is contamination; as if we could be

be reaſoned into making a capon of our country—an Eunuch of Ireland—A man of high office, and a prototype of Bar, or rather Bear wit, is reported to have, ſome time ago, made uſe of a threat towards his country, the vulgar language of which ſhall not pollute my paper, though it does my remembrance, and which may have ſuggeſted to you; Sir, the propriety of ſuch an operation, as may, in five minutes, ſet us free, for ever, from the prominent inſtigation to riot and rebellion.

Such an inſidious and impudent propoſal, to ſwell the loins of the country at the expence of its virility, I think, and I ſay, ſhould be as revolting to the nation, as to a man—and—" if in the infatuated animoſity of parties (which now virtually concentrate) all regard to the public be not totally and irrecoverably loſt, if that kind of mean ſelfiſhneſs, which ſcarce deſerves to be dignified with the name of avarice, holds not the

poſſeſſion of every breaſt, to ſtamp the iſland with indelible infamy," your propoſition may raiſe that Hiberniciſm, which it means to annihilate, and a love of country, which, hitherto, has been really, and in good truth, made up of *antipathies*, may be changed into the ſympathy of a common intereſt well practiſed and properly underſtood; an Union againſt Union; a combination of knowledge, ſentiment, and natural feeling, againſt the coalition formed between ſtate craft and ſtate neceſſity, to annihilate Ireland for the good of the Empire, *that is*, as far as ever I could underſtand the word, for the good of England, by its ſelfiſh ſelf England—England—that you have engaged, body and ſoul, in the preſent war; that forgetful of her own liberties, as well as the mode ſhe took to acquire them, was, at firſt, made an accomplice, and at laſt, a principal in attacking the liberties of another nation, until a war, which, originally, neither juſt nor neceſſary, became neceſſary tho' not juſt;

juſt; neceſſary to her own exiſtence, neceſſary to her own ſalvation, what had begun with a diſpute of diplomacy, and the etiquette of an ambaſſador—England, the land of Alfred, and of Edward, and of Locke, led, or driven, from ſtep to ſtep, until ſhe finds it neceſſary for her life to arm the miniſter with a plenary dictatorial power over privilege, perſon, and purſe, and well pleaſed to find Ireland about to add ſtill greater ſtrength to the ſame miniſterial power in a Britiſh Parliament, to fit a ghaſtly ſkeleton of repreſentation, ſtaring that of poor Scotland in the face (a people deſerving of a better fate, like their own Firs, hardy, tough, and durable, reſiſtive to the ſtorm, and of moſt value in ſoil the leaſt profitable)—England, who, by the conduct of her militia (I ſhudder at the name of antient Britons) ſeems to have willingly connived at the gradual extenſion, and *judicious* organization of ſuch a military force in this country, as might, when a *proper* opportu-

nity offered, be made instrumental to complete and continued subjugation—England, in fine, attaching her fortunes to the fate of a Mr. Pitt, and delivered up to her own fate by the man of the people—if the people were men.

Let me stop to bow to that character—I need not name him—greater, far greater, in his voluntary exile, than Charles, or Dioclétian. I had rather divide a cabinet with this man, than a cabinet with that other. I look up to his majestic and magnanimous mind with the same eyes, that travellers view the Dome of the Pantheon at Rome. When they enter, nothing at first surprises them. They see not immediately its greatness; its length, breadth, height, so nicely proportioned, that they exactly fill the eye; and the more it is attended to, the longer it is examined, its grandeur is increased, and their astonishment. While, perhaps, for the pleasure of contrast, they turn their view

to

to a tall, ungainly, Egyptian obelisk, deeply indented with mysterious emblems, and inscrutable hieroglyphics.

I return to say, that patriotism may be elicited from the clash not of arms, but the embrace of antagonist principles; that instead of perpetuating a hostile mind in the people, who are to live and die in the same land, who hang as it were on the same maternal breast, they ought, and they shall be actuated by a fraternity, a reciprocity, a mutuality of mind, that neither an extrinsic interference, whose policy, at all times, and particularly now, is to conquer by division, nor an aristocratized christianity shall continue to make the hatred of our neighbour, the only bond of Union, and a repulsion to all other sects the principle of our adhesion to each other; that the fraternal spirit of christianity shall no longer be ill exchanged for the interest of an order, or the support of a foreign domination under the pretext of an Union; that men

shall

ſhall not place their Chriſt in the clergy, nor their country in an over-channel cabinet, and that Ireland will be no longer that monſtrous and unnatural being, who has loſt the intereſt, which attaches every creature to itſelf, and who is always in danger of deſtruction from his own hands. I think, and I ſay, that now is the time, and may be never recalled, in which Iriſhmen can enter into a ſolemn league and covenant high enough to riſe beyond, to plane above all ſectarian ſelfiſhneſs; broad enough, and long enough to include this whole iſland; and deep enough to undermine a miniſter, who is himſelf the ſervant of ſervants, and the tool of men, he deſpiſes.

I ſay, that our different ſects in religion have been hitherto doing little elſe than tearing in pieces the ſeamleſs garment of our Saviour; and in politics, our poor Ireland has been thrown to the hounds of party, as the reward is flung at the death of the deer,

where

where every one pulls and tears what he can for himſelf; that NOW is the time not only to break down that Black Art of repelling man from man, by the power of certain magical rather than moral words, making the children of one God, and the people of one country cordially *hate* each other; but, now alſo is the time to drive Piles into the uncementing ſand of ſociety, on which foundation, the arch of national independance connecting the north and ſouth, in one level high road of mutual convenience, may reſt in ſtable tranquility. For otherwiſe ſand ſhall ſucceed to ſand, and nothing but ſand ſhall we ever remain.

I ſay to thoſe, who will underſtand me, that they ſhould now judge in what manner it is for their intereſt to act, when they ſee every leſſer job, like little fiſh, about to be ſwallowed up, and for ever ingulphed in the voracious maw of this great *Kraken* of a job, which was before deemed by many an imaginary

imaginary being, but is now ſeen ſwimming with Pontoppidan Pitt upon its back, acroſs *our* channel, for ſtill the half of it is ours.—I ſhall ſay no more upon *this* ſubject, for the preſent—Let the Orange ſpirit ſay as much in the ſpirit of peace, and Ireland will yet be —Ireland. Otherwiſe let it continue the BACKSIDE of Britain.

I aver, Sir, in your *hearing*, that as it was the bigotry of the Proteſtant, which generated the Papiſt, and the partiality of aſcendancies, which begot civil diſtraction, it is now the time for all parties here to break through the ſuſpicions of ignorance, and inſtead of looking at the world through Britain, to look at Britain through the world. Sir, for my own part, I will follow the genuine principles of the Britiſh Conſtitution, even when they emigrate into France; and I will glory in my eſtrangement from your iſland, whenever the dogmas of French deſpotiſm are tranſfuſed into Britain. When, under ſuch

auſpices,

auſpices, or rather the ſhade of ſuch omens, I ſee a plan handed from an Engliſh miniſter to an Engliſh-Iriſh miniſter, like to you in nothing, I know of, but in being young, thin, and ſelf-ſufficient; when I ſee, not an Eaſt-India bill, but a *Weſt-Britain* bill preparing for diſſolving not only all principles of conſtitution, but the conſtituency itſelf; for removing the ſeat of government *for ever* from the ſoil, and eternizing the provincialism and ſervitude of my country, under an adminiſtration unalterably Engliſh, and everlaſtingly conforming to the intereſts, prejudices, and jealouſies of the ſeat of ſovereignty, leaving us a leaſe of lives renewable for ever of all the *abuſes* of our wretched adminiſtration, and taking from us the fee-ſimple of our country, making it utterly, and ever impracticable for Ireland to manage her own affairs in the way ſhe judges moſt ſuitable to her own intereſt; *when* I ſee all this loze-nation attempted, and about to be executed, merely becauſe this mill-ſtone war is

tied round the neck of the miniſter, and that he wants both Iſlands not ſo much to ſtand or fall together, as to ſink both to the bottom with himſelf, if I could not ſuddenly untie the knot, which bound me to him, I ſhould wiſh not for the dagger of Ariſtogiton, which I deteſt, but for the cutting ſword of Alexander. I ſhould ſay to my king, let not this infuriate miniſter drive you to the breach of your coronation oath, by ſubverting a conſtitution, which you have ſworn to defend; and I ſhould ſay to the people, for liberty can never wholly be deſtroyed without the wilful and treacherous co-operation of the people, unite or die.

Puſh away the invading miniſter, as you have done the invading foe. Drive him into the ocean. Let not either republic or monarchy, tranſgreſſing their limits, cajole or conquer your country. While I breathe this ſhort breath of life, I will uphold, as my ſtrength can uphold, and an honeſt man is a ſtrong

a ſtrong one, the republican part of the Britiſh conſtitution, nor ſhall it be the commentaries of an academician, or the faſhion of the day, which ſhall make the principles of John Locke wither in my hand, or in my heart; but I would neither give up my country to a directory, or to a divan, to millions of men or to a ſingle man, who happens to be ſole miniſter. And when I figure in fancy the Genius of my beloved and calumniated country taking his ſtation on ſome mountain of our weſtern coaſt, that, in calm majeſty, ſees the great Atlantic break at its feet, and caſting his eyes on the geographical pre-eminence, and general aſpect of his iſland, ſet as a jewel in the moſt temperate part of the temperate zone, gifted with the fair and overflowing fertility of nature, with ſuch well tempered air, ſuch ſafe and large ports and havens courting the trade of the world, ſuch rivers, and ſuch lakes, I ſhould not be ſurpriſed that if a little miniſter ſhould ſend to him for ſuch a country, he would anſwer,

—COME

—COME AND TAKE IT—YES—YES—my country, "most choice, forsaken, and most "loved despised;" you shall yet have your avengers.

Sir, I do think and I do say, that if the cruel alternative be proposed to me, unite for ever with England, or separate for ever, I would say—*separate*, in the name of God and nature. If such be the alternative, let no little pert pre-eminence say to me, "look at "the map," and attempt to reconcile the perfidy of policy to the policy of geography —Why I would answer—If I look on the *map*, Britain belongs to Ireland, but I detest this property of nations, and, in return for an Irishman insulting his own country, I shall assert that the separation of the governments would accomplish the *Union* of the British and Irish people. Good God! what a paradox!—true—but a paradox is not always contrary to truth; it is only contrary to received opinion. The true system of the world

was long a paradox to philoſophers as well as to the people, and when the Genoeſe pilot, in purſuit of the Eaſt Indies, ſteered due *weſt*, he ſteered moſt paradoxically, but, while he was loſing one world, he made another. I will venture the paradox, and, ſteering due *weſt*, I will aſſert that the intereſt of *Britain* lies in the real and abſolute independence of Ireland, on the immediate renunciation of all governmental connexion, a juſt compenſation for paſt treatment, but alſo the trueſt wiſdom, by ſecuring our friendſhip in a *ſolitary* world. The ſtranger, the foreigner, the ſuppoſed foe would then become fellow countrymen and fellow citizens and brothers; and our greater population and capacity to purchaſe would produce to Britain a better market, (to *her* ſupreme felicity,) for there is not a country, which grows and increaſes, that does not, in its collateral conſequences, augment the induſtry of the whole world.

The inherent ſovereignty of Ireland *might* become the ſalvation of Britain; an Union

will

will accelerate her deſtruction. What is this wiſhed-for monopoliſm? The monopoliſt of the whole world would turn it into a deſert, and were any one, or any people, to purchaſe as it were the whole lottery of life, they would, in the end, be a loſer. I ſhall not now enter farther into the ſubject, but I do aſſert that the great perfection of this ſublunary ſyſtem would be ſuch a law of nations, recognized and ſupported, as might cover the univerſality of *independent* countries, fulfilling their duties and aſſerting their rights, with its tutelary authority, defending the weakeſt from the moſt ambitious, and guaranteeing to all the full poſſeſſion of their independence, under the ægis of a common power—and hear me for once, Ireland! when I ſay—happineſs never can be had by a people whoſe ſovereignty does not reſt—WITHIN THEMSELVES.

"But if—I quote from Vattel—any one would ravage from a nation an eſſential right,

or

or a right, without which it could not hope to ſubſiſt, if an ambitious neighbour threatens liberty, and reſolves to ſubdue it, that country will take council only from its courage; it will not condeſcend to wait for conferences on ſo odious a pretenſion—It will bring into this quarrel all its efforts, its laſt reſources—It is riſking every thing only to liſten to the leaſt propoſition—Then they might truly ſay, *una ſalus, nullam ſperare ſalutem.*"

Sir, I take my leave of you—I write in the hurry of my heart—I know, that, the ſame day of her anſwer to the commiſſioners, Queen Anne dictated an order of council, that whoever ſhould be concerned in any *diſcourſe or* libel, or in laying wagers relating to the Union, ſhould be proſecuted with the utmoſt rigor of the law. Until the ſame, or a ſimilar inhibition be iſſued, I may ſpeak, and I will ſay, that as we have ſeen ſmaller triangles erected in our public places, and ſtained with the blood of our countrymen, you are going

going to conſtruct one great TRIANGLE from theſe three kingdoms, to which are to be tyed the majeſty and faith of the Iriſh monarch, and the inherent ſovereignty of the Iriſh people—yes—I will purſue you through the meaſure—I will divulge you at leaſt through this iſland, and if the dying words of a ſingle Iriſhman ſhall be able to revive your remembrance, or awaken your conſcience either as man or as miniſter, what is to be expected from the laſt cry of an expiring nation?——

I am your humble ſervant,

But not yet—Your Slave—

WILLIAM DRENNAN.

Marlborough Street,
19th January, 1799.

A

SECOND LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE

WILLIAM PITT.

DUBLIN:

Printed by GEORGE FOLINGSBY, No. 59, Dame-ſtreet.

1799.

A

SECOND LETTER

TO THE

RIGHT HONORABLE WILLIAM PITT.

SIR,

IN the eſtimation of public opinion, which none but the weak man fears, and none but the blockhead braves, I may appear preſumptuous in again addreſſing myſelf to a Premier, whom many have been accuſtomed to conſider as the prime of men. From an unit of the people, who, to uſe your language, are themſelves, the mere "Elements of Jacobiniſm," it may be thought, that ſomething is required more refined than common ſenſe, more captivating than conſcious integrity, to entitle me to the attention of the Right Honorable William Pitt.

Would to God that I could ſee more political pride, and more perſonal humility! that I could ſee all the ſcattered portions of individual arrogance, looking on itſelf as every thing, and its country as nothing, converted and conſolidated into ſuch a "national pride," dreaded by, and juſtly dreadful to the Miniſter; a haughty Hiberniciſm, in whoſe high contemplation, a million of individuals were a mere multiplication of cyphers, without the COUNTRY was in its proper place, to give them notation and value. It is, indeed, a proud feeling of this kind, an inſtinctive ſentiment of country, ſuch a love of Ireland as I often ſee exemplified, in the warm and affectionate embrace of my lowly, ignorant, oppreſſed countrymen; ſuch as I often hear with ſtrange delight, in the wild, and almoſt ſavage melancholy of national muſic: it is this lovely love of native land, which exalts and ennobles the peaſant, and irradiates his hut as with the viſit of an angel: it is this ſupreme intereſt, without which, all men, in my mind, are valueleſs, that, in defiance of natural diſpoſition, incites me, unconnected as I am, by perſonal, or profeſſional obligation, by hope or fear, to public perſon or political party, and conſcious only

only of a fameneſs and pure conſiſtency of character, to addreſs myſelf, freely, and on the floor of equality, to a man, who, although as great as Great Britain, has already proved to the world that he has no memory, and has now as clearly manifeſted to the ſame world, that he has no foreſight.

A Miniſter whom even ſycophancy itſelf, can no longer aſſert to be unhacknied in the ways of men; that ſuch a heaven-born, but certainly earth-bred Miniſter, ſhould have attempted to put an extinguiſher on a conſtitution, with as little ceremony as he would upon a candle, without further immediate preparation than ſending over two or three of *his* Great Men, (for Buckingham is a big man, and Hertford a tall one,) and calling over two or three of *our* Great Men, to conſult them on a ſubject, on which he had himſelf previouſly determined, muſt be aſcribed to a ſhameful want of talent in the man, or as ſhameful a want of information in the Miniſter, or in both man and Miniſter, muſt be owing to that overweening ſenſe of ſelf-importance, mixed with a cool contempt of all other countries, particularly of this one, which, in the

individual I addreſs, and in the nation to which he belongs, has become a vice or a calamity—I care not which it is called—that has its beginning in ignorance and will always terminate, where it now does, in ignominy. Your firſt attempt to invade this country has therefore ended in defeat and confuſion, and in this reſpect, you may rank with Hoche and with Humbert.

I have ſeen the high-praiſed practitioner of other profeſſions, after a long courſe of ſucceſsful deception, ſuddenly explode into a blockhead; and there is no profeſſion provided with more and ſurer means to captivate and cajole, than that of Miniſter; with hundreds of hands callous in his praiſe; with hundreds of parroquet tongues, taught only to cry, Hear him; with hundreds of heads working, night and day, for *his* exhibition. Lord North, a man of ſome humour, and much good humour, was able, in the courſe of ten years, ſleeping and waking, to gain the reputation of a great Miniſter; and Mr. Pitt, with a fluency that can run on the caſtors of four or eight epithets, in aſtoniſhing ſound and celerity; with a contracted *Angliciſm* that had been the utmoſt

moſt range of the father's philoſophy, and is, in little Great Britain, the baſe of the ſon's popularity; with (and crowned with) a ſtiff ſtate morality, and formal intercourſe with heaven, that recommends him to his earthly maker; Mr. Pitt, with theſe and ſimilar qualities, has been able to ſwim on the fluctuations of public opinion, but ſtill I think not ſo much by the ſtrength of his arms, as by the buoyancy of bladders.

An abler Miniſter would ſcarcely have thought of carrying a great country by a coup de main. *His* ſagacity (called propheſy by inferior minds) would not have been cheated by the internal and domeſtic quarrel, into the deluſion that the country was weary of its exiſtence as a Nation, but would rather have ſuſpected that the agitation and conflict of party and perſonal ambition, indicated a new and ſtrong vital power, which, by one prepollent motive, might be forced into a combination that would have all the effect, if it wanted the eſſence, of public virtue; and the country, tired of wearing ſo many maſks, *might aſſume itſelf*, at length, at once, and for ever. A Miniſter, that did not ſupport himſelf merely on the

the plank of exiſting circumſtances, would have watched the effect of political diſcuſſion, making its way in a ſtrange direction from the *lower* to the *upper* orders, who had long felt uneaſy, and ſtruggled againſt conviction, and are now glad to put in practice ſome of thoſe truths which, *for ſome time longer*, they will continue to revile and reprobate in others. He would have anticipated the formidable junction of family, of property, of profeſſion, and of talent; the convenient coalition, and fraternal embrace of ſtateſmen long, and ſtateſmen lately, out of cabinet confidence, now piqued into patriotiſm, and acting with joint efforts againſt a whimſically compoſed Iriſh Miniſtry with "*three names*," and ſuch names as Cooke, Clare, and Caſtlereagh. In ſhort, if deceived into a meaſure of this nature, by the premature confidence of his Iriſh managers, by *their* contemptuous eſtimation of the country coinciding with *his own*, and by the low value his ſupercilioufneſs, and perhaps his political œconomy, might ſet upon certain men, ſuch a Miniſter, thus deceived, and thus defeated, would not have ended with a threat of uſing every effort, ſhort of the laſt extremity (will *that* ſtop him if he goes *ſo* far?) in the

the purſuit of this meaſure, *in order* to keep up the vigilance and re-action of the whole country, to bind and brace the party and perſonal oppoſition more firmly with itſelf, and with the country; thus perſevering to *bid*, perhaps at ſomewhat higher rate, for perſon and for people, after turning the eyes of all Ireland *on itſelf*, on its real value, its relative power, and its European conſideration.

I muſt, however, admire the ſtiff bend which you make to the dignity and independence of the Iriſh Legiſlature, while you are preparing the inſtruments of its deſtruction. When Don Carlos of Spain was about to ſuffer death, by the ſentence of his father, and indulged a little in the feelings of nature—For ſhame! cried the executioner as he ſtript open his neck—For ſhame, Don Carlos, *it is all for your good!*—But this appearance of reſpect to the integrity of the houſe (in both ſenſes of the word) is probably done, with a view of ſerving your own purpoſe, on a future more favourable occaſion, by the previous recognition of its full and unlimited competency; not *then* to be *ſhared* with the people, as it is *now* owned to be, at leaſt by the Iriſh Miniſter,

niſter, for upon your exiſting principles of the laſt month, the people have nothing to do in the matter.

I might, perhaps, as one of that people, have ſaid, that there is an inherent truſteeſhip in each and every eſtate of Legiſlature, in the Commons Houſe of Ireland, in the Houſe of Peers of Ireland, and in the King of Ireland; that as the crown is paramount to the King who wears it, the Conſtitution is, or ought to be, paramount to the Parliament, and above the ſphere of that competency which is to preſerve, but neither to create or to deſtroy; that if one parliament be competent to enter into ſuch a compact, the united parliament are equally competent to break, as ſoon as they pleaſe, the conditions of it; and therefore nothing in it is ſure and permanent, but the *irrevocability* of our independence. I might have ſaid, that as the Houſe of Commons, or of Peers, ſeparately, are as little competent to ſurrender the conſtitution to Mr. Pitt, as King John was, by himſelf, or even *with* the other eſtates, to ſurrender his crown to the Pope; ſo, when combined with theſe eſtates, an omnipotence is the reſult—Yes, an omnipotence

moving

moving within the circle of its rights and its duties, poſſeſſed by every petty court, and (I ſpeak *from* my reverence to authority) by every petty conſtable. I might have ſaid, that as ancient legiſlators, in order to ſecure due ſubmiſſion to their laws, had recourſe to the intervention of heaven, to the aid of an oracle, or to a ſecret intercourſe with an Egeria, and as in times more modern, Kings, who were no legiſlators, aſſumed the right *divine* as a neceſſary ſupplement to government, ſo it may be convenient for men who are lawyers, but no legiſlators, to ſpeak to the people from the clouds and darkneſs of parliamentary omnipotence; but it were, perhaps better, in ſuch inquiſitive times, to practice the mimickry of ancient ſuperſtition ſomewhat leſs, to vulgarize their divinity ſomewhat more, and to treat our political faith with a little of that truth, that candour, and that tenderneſs, by which the Author of our religious faith, changed the law, which thundered and lightened exceedingly from Mount Sinai, into the gentle and refreſhing dew of pure and *plain* chriſtianity. There is as little policy as piety, in beſtowing on human authority the attributes of the Almighty; and the Miniſter

of expedients, will find, that the competency of which he boasts, will not be able to bridge the Irish channel; that God said—Let them be islands—and islands they will remain—and that this geographical distinctness, and individuality of nature, will mock the power of Mr. Pitt, and will smile at the omnipotency of Parliament.

I will go lower. Whether garrisoned by a pale, partitioned as a lordship, degraded as a province, or cajoled as a kingdom, the national mind of Ireland has still remained unconquered and unconquerable. It has adhered with constancy, in the fellowship of misfortune; bruised, but never broken; hopeful in humiliation; holding fast to its faith and clinging to its country. It is now six hundred years, since a cruel coward, an odious fugitive, a tyrant and an adulterer, entered into a conspiracy or a *coalition* with a king and a pope for the conquest of his native country. Since the base treachery of the barbarian, finding a ready support from profane hypocrisy, civil ambition and papal usurpation, the country was given up to the banditti of the royal adventurer, by a pious pope, for the honor of God and the

welfare

welfare of the land; and although the annals of the world, stained as they have been with the tears and blood of mankind, never exhibited such a chronology of slaughter, such perennial plagues of proscription, confiscation, famine, pestilence and the sword, never, I say again, never, in the dreadful uniformity of this calamitous story, never did a country suffer more which remained truer to *itself*, for the hammer of despotism has always rebounded from the anvil of resistance. It will not be *now*, that we will submit this country to the Right Honorable William Pitt, a country that has survived the thunder of the Tudors, and the exterminating sword of Cromwell; that for so many hundred years, had been separated, alienated, and disowned by England, its natural growth of social improvement blighted, the march of the human mind reverted, and trained up by policy in the education of anarchy and rapine, the theme of English ridicule, or of their "horror," when every resistance to oppression, was deemed "the repeated perfidy of an odious race,"—it is not possible, that in a *little* time, this country should lose its memory, and its understanding so far, as, upon the promise of disinterested love and unalterable attachment

from the Right Honourable William Pitt, to make an uncompenſated and uncompenſable ſurrender of itſelf, and forfeit for ever the hopes and proſpects of 1782.

With reſpect to the underſtood arrangement of that year, I would only aſk this nation, and that nation of yours, was an Union ever in the moſt diſtant contemplation of that ſettlement? Were the ſpirit, principle, or motive of an adjuſtment which recogniſed as perfectly as Grattan and repeal, as Flood and renunciation, could recogniſe our independence; was this meant merely as an inchoate meaſure for the purpoſe of maſhing the individuality of Ireland in the duplicity of an Union, and in the net of the Retiarius Pitt? O Memory of Flood! was ſuch an annihilating adjuſtment, the end (as death is the end of life) of your victorious argument? Speak from the duſt—for the ſubject is potent to break even the ſilence of the grave.—Anſwer and ſay, did you renounce Britiſh ſupremacy in the name of your country, in the year 1782, for ſuch a terrible and eternal termination as that propoſed in 1799?—I think I hear the ſullen ſound that indignantly anſwers, NO.

O Memory

O Memory of Volunteers, truly glorious and immortal, celebrated *now* by thoſe, who did their utmoſt to chill your hopes, and damp your honeſt ſpirits, would this man have dared to make ſuch a propoſal, when your arms were glittering in the ſun, before you were yet ſhorn of your ſtrength, and wheedled out of your virtue; before your conſcience, will and underſtanding were locked up in the eſcritoires of imbecile, indolent, prejudiced or puſillanimous men; before your ſpirit had been diluted by delegation, or evaporated in the interchange of compliment, the adulation of addreſſes, and the facile fabrication of pretty replies; before an ariſtocracy of perſevering procraſtination, had conquered the good ſenſe, which led the good people, to a good underſtanding with each other; before you talked ſo much in your own praiſe, and when England, and when France praiſed you, in aweful ſilence; would this Miniſter of England have then, or would he now, if I could appeal from the dead to the living, deſcribe the adjuſtment of 1782, as dictated "by a ſpirit of momentary popularity" as not final with reſpect to conſtitution, as proviſional and ſupplementary, a ſacrifice to national pride, and a ſeaſon of raving patriotiſm,

but

but in its nature and its intention prospective; a legislative competence—merely to consolidate; an independence solely—to unite; and a life—to die. I thought I saw the flash of arms; I thought I heard the same march which used in the year 1780 to swell my heart, and raise me in the ranks to a level with my countrymen—No—No—It is the new volunteers with the English name. The lawyers of 1795, the sound but not the sense, the corps but not the spirit. That spirit of 1782, now sleeps in the grave, or upon the bench. And *some* of my volunteer comrades, have been forced, *partly*, by their hysteric horror of the French Revolution, to accept offices under the state, and *many more*, are at this moment, silent sufferers in the living grave of the prison, where I have spent twenty-four hours, (the prisoner counts by hours) and some of these men have spent as many thousands. Dear and gallant souls! whom, fifteen years ago, I addressed, and whom I now respectfully salute, placed in a situation regarded by God and justice, rest assured, that in this our long battle of life, in this wrestling match between the good and the evil principle, (I will not specify them by any other name) the latter will at length lye

prof-

proſtrate, and Liberty will be the FINAL ADJUSTMENT. He indeed, who only looks through our hiſtory, the hiſtory of the Engliſh in Ireland, the regiſter of errors, follies, and crimes, will begin to think, that ſervitude and contempt are the neceſſity of our nature, and the ſun of reaſon will, through ſuch a medium, appear deeply dyed in blood. Look again. The great luminary is in its aſcent to meridian altitude, and the morning of our nature and improveability as a nation, has ſcarcely broken, after the darkneſs of ſix centuries. The light has already ſtruck upon the high places, the turrets, the ſpires and the ſteeples, but as the day advances, the low places, and the dark and deſolate will be illuminated and cheered. The uſeleſs beams that played upon the tops of the hills will deſcend into the vallies, and warm, and fertilize them. Virtue will become vertical, and man at length will find delight in exiſtence—But in the mean time, We muſt walk in darkneſs and the ſhadow of Mr. Pitt.

Sir—when I compare the contents of your ſpeech, (which in my poor opinion, betrays much more of perſonal pique than the ability

of

of a great ſtateſman, (as if the national queſtion, had been wholly incorporated with the inconſiſtence of Mr. Foſter) when I compare the contents of this ſpeech with the context of your actions; with the military eſtabliſhment voted for this country; with the gradual converſion of militia into regulars; with the approaching change of the yeomanry into the ſame ſtrictneſs of diſcipline and extent of duty; with the intended alternation of Engliſh and Iriſh militia, accompliſhed in the firſt inſtance by means I have not time to dwell on; with the late voluntary offer of three militia regiments to be ſoon ſeconded by ſimilar offers from the yeomanry; with the martial bills lately introduced into parliament; and with many other circumſtances to be remarked in ſilence, I feel no conviction more palpable, than what I formerly mentioned, of the military *deſtination* of this country, and although an Union might have accompliſhed this final arrangement of yours, with more form, and perhaps with more efficacy, I warn Ireland, that this continues to be the plan *paramount* to that of Union, and that although defeated in a meaſure really only preparative to this purpoſe, the exertions of the Miniſter to attain it, will

not

not suffer the least relaxation, though his route will perhaps be a little more circuitous.

As a patriot who loves peace above all things but Liberty, I deprecate this new calamity about to fall on my country, to become the seat of war between the internecine principles that are devastating Europe, and to be erected into a platform for royal and republican prize-fighters. I pray to almighty God, that he would inspire my head and my heart with some means, with some *anti-Pittism*, that might have even the probability of tranquilizing this country by the peace of Freedom, of reconciling the personal interest of the Monarch with the will of the people; of supporting monarchy, and at the same time, maintaining the independence and autonomy of my native land; of repelling both Ministerial invasion and French invasion, and closely uniting the strength and resources of these islands—not by a consolidation—but by a division of the executive power. Might not the very same thing be repeated now, which was done 600 years ago? What one King did by his sole power, might not another King be enabled to do, by (in this case) the useful omnipotence of parliament?

What Henry the 2d did to John the firſt, might not George the 3d be enabled to do to any of his children, (excepting the Prince of Wales) and if the crowns, inſtead of being made inſeparable, were for ever diſjoined, might not monarchy ſupport itſelf *better* by the ſeparation, and the two nations become more *united* by their conſequent independence?

The diviſion and civil war of this country, has been dated from the day, that the rights transferred to John as Lord of Ireland, reverted with the title, to the crown of England, and perhaps we might hail the return of the public peace, from the hour that, by the authority of parliament, confirming the free grace of a father, the individuality of the double crown was made diſtinct; an Iriſh Sovereign brought home to the people, domeſticated by conſtant reſidence among the people, identified with the people, their intereſts, their paſſions, even their prejudices; circumſcribed, in his councils and concerns, to the ſingle welfare of the weſtern iſle; related to the crown of England only by the link of nature and the ties of kindred, not "rex ſub eo, et paratus ad ſervitium ſuum," but competent in himſelf, and confident

confident against the world in arms; related to the country of England, *closer than ever*, as Man to Man, not by bonds of parchment, but by the stronger bond of mutual interests, by the barter of benefit, the interchange of obligation, by the reciprocity of good for good, which forms the usefulness and ornament, the fruit and fragrance of private and of public life; and *if pushed*, by the reciprocity of good for evil, that amiable effort of christian religion, and oriental morality.

I know that any proposal to unite royalist and republican may appear ridiculous, and that Lawyers who place their limits of possibility always in precedent, and benumb every attempt at improvement by barely crying—impossible! will shake the heavy head and smile; but I am not the less anxious to find some *point* of *contact* between the contending *factions* (for they are no more) and I think that I find it, in the mutual desire of Irish Independence. I agree with you, Sir, the champion of monarchy, that there must be a change, "a new experience," if not another order of things, but the great problem is to make that change without convulsion, to reconcile the cause of monarchy, with absolute and

eternal independence of Ireland; to unite the nations, by ſeparating the governments, with mutual ſatisfaction; to make a family compact and a political federation ſtand in place of ſuch an union as would diſtract the country with ſomething worſe than its old diſtemperature, and really weaken the common ſtrength, by totally extinguiſhing affection. I do believe that there is a large maſs (I think it better to call it by this name) attached to monarchy (and chiefly on that account to *you*) by ancient habits, by the natural royaliſm of property (for the rich are the *royal* of the earth) by the panic of innovation, by the rational dread of revolution, by the ſpectre of ſome unknown anarchy, who are, at the ſame time, ſtill more ſtrongly attached to the independence of this country, and their own intereſt in that independence. I do believe, on the other hand, that there is a vaſt population, whoſe property is their perſons, that have been driven into democracy, and forced to take ſhelter in republicaniſm from the ſtorm and terror of the times, whoſe affections have migrated from their country, as the bird abandons the neſt polluted by human hands, and who have become Frenchmen, becauſe they were not ſuf-

fered

ferred to be Irishmen, yet whole country is ſtill the home of their heart, and who in this common love of country, have a POINT OF CONTACT ſtill remaining with the former body, and growing broader ſince the preſent topic was agitated, which might be improved into a laſting treaty of amity and peace, perhaps, by the ſimple expedient of a reſident independent executive, dependent on the general will, an inherent ſovereignty, whoſe intereſt might lead it to thoſe eſſential reforms, that would perfect the happineſs of *its own* people, and heal for ever thoſe diſtractions, ſaid to be fomented *ſolely* for the miſunderſtood intereſt of another people.

I am a Proteſtant Diſſenter, ſo zealouſly attached to that eſſential diſtinction, the right of private judgment, (which a fellow, himſelf a chronic ailment, a ſort of ring-worm in this country, has declared to be a cauſe of religious difference nearly *obſolete*) that I think I ſhould be able to lay down my life in maintaining that diſtinction; and yet, I do not ſcruple to declare, that I can ſee Popery *no where* but in the Proteſtant Aſcendancy, a term borrowed from the falſehood of aſtrology, and pregnant

with

with the cunning of an art which imposed on human credulity; nor can I discern the Popery of politics any where, but in the assumed domination of any external power, over the civil concerns of this country. I do not scruple to declare, that I think Henry the 4th of France acted wisely as a King, in the same proportion that James the 2d of England acted with hereditary folly; and, with Fletcher, I say "the most zealous Protestant in the nation, ought to wish that a Papist should succeed to the throne, with such limitations, as would render the nation free and independent, than the most Protestant and best prince without any." And I add, that I had much rather see the King of Ireland and *in* Ireland, of the same religion with the great mass of his people, than that this country of great Catholic population, but less comparative strength, should be united to the mass and magnitude of Great Britain, without any whatever security for the preservation of the conditions of the compact; or any other guaranteeship, than the good faith of a great power.

I draw my politics neither from the castle nor the prison, neither from Castlereagh nor O'Connor,

nor, and what I say will manifest my *sole* motive, is, to save this my native land from impending devastation, in the collision of two rival nations, regardless of *us*, in the rancour of *their* mutual antipathy; and I appeal from the rage of parties and the leaders of parties, to a CALM and prescient patriotism, that sits, like Archimedes, calmly intelligent, and is able by the machinery of some powerful motive to dash hostility in pieces, while it remains invulnerable, in its own sound and solid integrity.

Let me not be understood when I have mentioned *Philosophy*, that I mean a *Plot*. Philosophy, of late, *denounced* by ministers of the state and dignitaries of the church, who suspecting some secret sympathy between the speculations of science and political innovation, have exclaimed with Omar—"Burn all the books—for if they contain only what is in our Laws they are useless; and dangerous if they contain any thing else." These men perhaps have heard that knowledge of all kinds is *effected* and that a spirit of adventurous research once excited in the great chain of nature seldom fails to be transmitted through the whole, and to brighten the smallest link, in its course, like the flame of electricity.

electricity. They therefore dread Philoſophy and all her works. The power that draws down the lightning from heaven, in ſilence and ſecurity, might *for them*, have been nothing more at this day, than the attraction of ſtraws and feathers by the friction of amber; and the virtue that arms a needle, ſo as to guide us round the globe, and make us hit the ſmalleſt iſland in the vaſt Pacific, might, *for them*, have ſtill ſlept in the coarſe and unpremiſing ore from whence Philoſophy educed it.

Impreſſed as he is with the fear of this Philoſophy, which could alone elevate his mind, from an adherence to certain inveterate maxims, to the fabrication of ſome adequate plan, that even in its bold diſorder, would be the better qualified to meet the perilous and unexampled exigencies of the times; ungifted as he is with any ſuch heroiſm of thought, as can deſcry afar off, the poſſibility of things, I can have little or no hope, from a man and a Miniſter, who has vilified the very parliament he crouches to compliment; who has affronted the Catholic body in the very act of alluring them; and who has introduced a ſort of civil war into the ſtate, in order to injure

peace

peace to the community. But let me tell this Minister, that *some* experiment beyond the common line, is imperiously called for, to resist, with any effect, the new tactic of French policy. Our old tactic of penal law, systematic corruption, contentions of party and personal ambition, division into casts, and monopolism of ascendancies, will be of little avail, against such solid and homogeneous power. Compulsory consolidation at home, will not avail, more than discordant coalitions abroad. *They* have been crushed, like clods of clay, in the hand of a giant. They first erected, and have since sustained a re-action, which in the mechanism of mind, has been not only contrary to action, but more than equal; and France has made the conquest of Europe, by the influence of Pitt, and the subserviency of his coalitions, while the wretched Kings, of wretched islands, are now deploring their calamities, and at this moment, cursing the author of consolidation. Tutor'd perhaps by events, I aver, that French power would have met with more obstacles, or at least would never have risen to such a height, had there never been a coalition formed; and had the different states remained—*at home*, the sand would

have broken the tide, which has broken down the mole. That tide would have retired peaceably into its bed, but for the reſiſtance it experienced; and the meditated conſolidation of theſe countries, is, at beſt, but a ſecond rate coalition, the intention of which, would have been much better effected, by each of theſe iſlands reſting on the ſquare and firm-ſet baſis of their national independence, valuing that as dearly as their exiſtence. Were every nation to bear that rule in their own country, which Ahaſuerus decreed, that every man ſhould bear in his own houſe, preſent peace would be the reſult, and future war would be impracticable.

But if the talented order in any country, ſhould be divided into men of capacity without views, and men of views without capacity; if the untalented orders labouring under a combination (I was going to call it conſpiracy) of rent and profit againſt wages, ſhould be preſented with a ſyſtem of national reform, compriſed in the licence from a biſhop of a different religion, to a pariſh ſchool-maſter of a different religion, with an index expurgatorius of Jack Connor and Moll Flanders;

if

if the independence of ſuch a country, has been aſſerted only for the ſake of a partial intereſt, and the aſſertion ſhould turn out nothing more than the rivalſhip of monopoly, were I to ſmile at this ſudden and unforeſeen ebullition of patriotiſm, I ſhould ſhelter myſelf under the example of Hannibal, who, being queſtioned on this inſult to the public diſtreſs, made anſwer, That a ſmile of ſcorn for thoſe who felt not the loſs of their country, until it affected their *private intereſt*, was a ſmile of ſorrow for Carthage.

Sir—I am ſatisfied, that if Ireland remain not true to itſelf, " in ſeipſe totus teres atque rotundus," it is not your fault, but it is our fault, and our folly. You have done your utmoſt, in the meaſure you have propoſed; in the manner of propoſal; in your aſſertion of the competency of parliament to kill itſelf, but its incompetency to manage the country; in the general ſtigma affixed to the morals and manners of the whole nation; in the broad hints made by your perſonal friends, of withdrawing commercial advantages to their own eventual misfortune, and of re-enacting the penal code againſt the Catholics; in this blind

and exceptionleſs defiance of people and of party, you have indeed done, all that man could do, to embody the party with the people, and the people with the party.

But if the party be one thing, and the people another, if inſtead of having a common centre with the country, the party ſhould revolve ſolely *about itſelf*, and if that ſelf be made up, of a heterogeneous hap-hazard coalition, without any predominance of principles, or habits of affection; if the leaders of ſuch a party ſhould either be unpopular, or ſhould deſpiſe popularity, ſuch a coalition muſt ſhare the fate of the others, and the Miniſter muſt ſoon triumph, for the very ſame reaſon he has before been ſo often defeated. For a little time the whole matter will be allowed to ſleep, for a decent interval, ſufficient to ſave the honor of the Iriſh Miniſter: and if in that interval, the party ſhould ſet itſelf againſt the people, if nothing ſhould be propoſed in the way of conciliation, much leſs of reform, which is now fatally made to appear but little leſs practicable than revolution; if no experiment be tried, not even that dignified one, of a PARLIAMENTARY COMMISSION, to examine perſonally

ally and on the ſpot, the faults, the cauſes, and the remedies for theſe diſturbances: if there ſhould be a feeble oppoſition to a new courſe of coercion, preparing its prongs to rake up the freſh embers of rebellion; the Miniſter will *then* juſtify the ground he has taken, by appealing to the world, and to the empire, that Ireland is "non compos ſibi," incapable of ſelf-government, and like the unhappy lunatic, muſt ſubmit to the ſcourge of coercion, or ſeek refuge from the torments of political exiſtence, in the euthanaſia of an incorporate Union.

Then indeed the party, high and powerful as it may now deem itſelf (though perhaps that *now* is already paſt) then indeed will it be flattened to the level of the people, by the great hammer of conſolidation, the ſound of which is heard acroſs the Atlantic as well as here, lifted by that great political mechanic, Preſident Adams, as it is here by the Miniſter Pitt; while both theſe mighty black-ſmiths, are ſweating in ſympathy, and labouring by time-keeping and alternate ſtrokes, to give the hard and rigid independence of the country, a proper malleability, and to turn ploughs and

ſhuttles,

ſhuttles, into ſpears and bayonets. Then indeed, I ſay, the party will become the people —when there will be no country, and countrymen—when there will be no Ireland. No, —I am not ſurpriſed, that a country, who conſiders her conſtitution as a revelation from heaven, precluding improvement from reaſon or experience; whoſe will and whoſe wiſh is, I think, againſt reform of any kind, becauſe ſhe looks upon the actual ſtate of things, as the public law; and the actual Miniſter, as the exiſting government—no—I am not ſurpriſed, that a country, incorporatively united with the war and Mr. Pitt, ſhould act and ſuffer as ſhe has done, and as ſhe does. But I confeſs, that among the miracles of human nature, it appears to me the greateſt, how country gentlemen, could have been in *this* iſland, ſo panic ſtruck *out of* their property, how, on one ſide really invaded, and on the other, invaded with the fear of invaſion, they could ſtill lend a helping hand to the ſcrew of coercion, with ſuch recent experience of its effects in inviting invaſion, and opening a way for the enemy; how they ſhould equally facilitate the power, that on one part wiſhes to make a conqueſt, by the conſequence of an

Union;

Union; and the power that, on the other part, wishes to conquer by ſeparation; and when neither object can be accompliſhed on the inſtant, how men, fond of their perſons and property, fond of their cattle and their country, can cheerfully join in the deſign of both enemies, to weaken, diſtract, diſtreſs and hamſtring that country, until it may find no reſource, but in ſuicide or ſeparation—if any thing is moſt ſtrange in this ſtrange world, this appears to be ſo.

I do declare, that it would appear to me far leſs ſtrange and unnatural, if the propertied maſs of this country, in the juſt apprehenſion of being, not merely ſqueezed, but ground down to powder, between the two hoſtile principles, ſhould take thoſe means, that the law and conſtitution ſtill place in their power (notwithſtanding the hanging up of the Habeas Corpus) to impel adminiſtration into a ſecond treaty with the reputed leaders of the populace, if not of the people. Thoſe who condeſcended to treat once, may condeſcend to treat again, and the ſame large ſtate neceſſity, which ſent Malmſbury twice, and may ſend him a third time, to ſhake hands with the murderers

murderers of their Sovereign, might be plea ſufficient, for taking *any* meaſure that would *extinguiſh* France in Ireland, ſuppoſe, by aſking theſe men what did they want, and if emancipation and reform were ſtill made uſe of as pretexts, by removing at once the *pretexts*, and thus diſarming the leaderſhip, while it unmaſked their hypocriſy. O God! might a country gentleman exclaim, is all this public and private diſtreſs, merely, in order to preſerve the ſmell of a rotten borough under our noſe, and to prevent a Catholic from ſitting by our ſide? Is the *neutraliſm* of the county (a ſtrong but latent power) able to ground the connexion, on no ſurer foundation than the abuſes of the conſtitution, and if influence, or in coarſer phraſe, if corruption, is become too expenſive a cement for this connexion, cannot even the ſelfiſhneſs of property ſuggeſt ſome means, or at leaſt by its power of inactivity, give weight to ſome meaſure, that would produce *federal* friendſhip with *ſelf-exiſtent* ſovereignty, rather than be conſolidated, compreſſed, and aſſeſſed into the redemptionleſs ſervitude of an Union? Would to God, that I were as able as I am willing, to ſuggeſt ſuch a meaſure, and that I could glut my political

political vengeance upon Mr. Pitt, by making an addreſs to him, who betrayed the rights of the people, the medium of a redreſs to their wrongs.

Sir, one thing is certain—Theſe countries never can be *faithfully* connected, but by their mutual independence, and the meaſure of an Union, injudicious in any but ephemeral policy, and impracticable in nature, would really make that a hoſtile, which ought to be a ſocial ſeparation; the ſociality of manners, of language and of laws; the ſeparation of governments, who might and ought to unite in every relationſhip, but that of maſterſhip and ſubjection; not an Union by conqueſt, not an Union by monopoly, not an Union by gold or by iron, but an Union of mutual intereſt, the only bond of affection between nations, and ſupported by *public opinion*, without which Union, the ſpider weaves as ſtrong a web as Mr. Pitt. Britain, by her paſt ſyſtem to Ireland, has in reality diminiſhed *her own* enjoyments, and curtailed *her own* induſtry, by taking away that ſtimulus, which our new wants would have ſupplied; and, in her preſent ſpeculation, of uniting impending

bankruptcy with ſolvency, and aſſimilating the taxes, if not the tempers of the two countries, ſhe is equally deceived in her views of profitable adventure, equally deceived with the Miniſter, whoſe chief object is, *military* conſcription, and to make this iſland, a *ſalvage* for the empire. I queſtion, if Britain has gained as much, by anxiouſly making herſelf, the medium of our contracted trade, as if this iſland, had been what nature deſigned it, a Free Port for the world; and I am convinced, that the monopoly of political power, denominated an Union, is equally ill calculated to draw forth the real ſtrength, and reſources of the two iſlands; which, by their being left more to themſelves, and partial aſcendancies being levelled to equal laws, would come forth, ſpontaneous, and unſolicited, from united and incorporated nations. Nor will it be the diſtractions of the country, nor the ſyſtem of influence, reverting to the old ſyſtem of military power, nor the pretexts of invaſion, which will make an Union more palatable, to the ſelfiſhneſs, to the pride, to the integrity of the nation; to the heads of parties, or to the tails; and if, by a reliance on ſuch meaſures, you, Sir, ſhould be ſo impolitic, as to propoſe the

the matter a ſecond time, and ſo unfortunate as to ſucceed in it, you will only accelerate that ultimate deciſion, which we would both deprecate as the worſt of evils.

Were any one, therefore, as a perpetual preventative of theſe evils, to propoſe, ſupporting monarchy in both iſlands, not by the hazardous project of uniting the two legiſlatures, with the immediate loſs of exiſtence to the one, and the eternal loſs of Liberty to the other; but by the diviſion of the crowns, through the authority of parliament, to the ſatisfaction of the King and the father, and with the acquieſcence of national opinion; were it to be ſuppoſed, that it is the preponderating influence—I ſhould be aſhamed to ſay—corruption—neceſſarily attending on a *double* crown, which totally deſtroys the balance of the conſtitution, while it has been made the only principle of the connexion; and were this man to propoſe, grounding this connexion, on a more honeſt, a more honorable, and a more durable baſis, by a ſelf-exiſtent, inherent ſovereignty, attached to the Britiſh monarchy, in the relationſhip of blood; and by a ſelf-legiſlating people, attached to the Britiſh

tiſh nation, by the reciprocity of good for good, not evil for evil, I ſhould think the intention of the deſign, more meritorious, and the execution equally practicable with that of the Right Honorable William Pitt.

Is it not poſſible, that the Britiſh conſtitution, ſhould, in the one iſland remain as it is, with all thoſe conceived abuſes which however, the public will *there* ſeems to cheriſh; and in the other iſland, the *ſame* conſtitution, ſhould be more accommodated to the ſame general ſentiment, at leaſt, in being freed from the monſtrous abſurdity, of excluding the great maſs of the people, from any ſhare of political power, yet, *at the ſame time*, imperial connexion be preſerved, without indiviſible and irrevocable conſolidation? Is it not poſſible, that inſtead of imitating the errors of the Engliſh ſyſtem, in commerce as well as conſtitution, this country might imitate its excellencies, without impeaching the connexion, or diminiſhing the reſources of the empire? Is it not poſſible, that one country, getting above the ſpirit of a corporation, and the other getting out of the ſpirit of an excluſive company, both countries might be better united,

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and their ſtrength conſolidated, merely by letting them alone? Is it poſſible, for example, that the *political* purpoſes of exactly aſſimilating the taxation of the two countries, and all the errors of the commercial ſyſtem, in its high duties, and conſequent encouragement to ſmuggling, in its taxes on neceſſaries, in its inconſiderate bounties, in the multiplied trouble and vexation of the Cuſtom-houſe, in the confuſion, obſcurity, and craft of the book of rates, in the monſtrous expence of raiſing the revenue, is it poſſible, I ſay, that the political purpoſe of multiplying patronage, and ſtrengthening, at ſuch a coſt to King and country, the influence of the crown, might be effected by any expedient, that would at the ſame time, ſuſtain the firm of government, while it purified its ſubſtance, the morals, the manners and the induſtry of the people, their integrity and their independence?

It is utterly impoſſible! anſwers one, who can make no diſtinction between things extraordinary and things impoſſible. It is utterly impracticable! anſwers another, who has an intereſt in cauſing that impracticability, or whoſe views extend farther than his ability

to

to reach them; but if men would take only *the trouble*, of ſaving their lives and properties, from the coming conflagration; if they were not petrified to one ſpot, and, like thoſe who ſee a bomb flying through the air, fixed by very irreſolution, I do think that in this providential *time* granted to them, they might give ſpeed and ſinew to ſome patriotic expedient, which parting from Mr. Pitt as the eaſt does from the weſt, would in its circuit and circumnavigation round this great meaſure, *gain a day* which he has loſt—*if* they were ſenſible, as I am, that it is the intereſt, and ſhould be the buſineſs of their lives, to advance the conſtitutional independence of their country, by a ſingle year, by a ſingle month, by a SINGLE DAY.

SIR—It is your great and exigent purpoſe, and as far as I can gather from the languid loquacity of your Iriſh tranſlator, it ſtill continues your purpoſe, to preſs—I was going to ſay—to crimp this country, by a plan of baſe value, though artfully ſtamped with the image of the Sovereign, into the perpetual ſervice of a war, diſaſtrous even in its victories. It is my purpoſe to appeal from ſuch falſe and fallacious

ſtatement

ſtatement to the independent ſpirit of the country, and of parliament, who might by that very independence which you object to, have once become the ſaviours of the Empire, and might ſtill prove the ſalvation of Ireland. It is your purpoſe to extinguiſh patriotiſm entirely in this iſland as a principle of action. It is mine to bring Ireland home to every heart. Senſible as you are, of the precarioufneſs of power, mighty as it may be, which partakes in the inſtability of winds and of waves, it is your deſign to dry up the channel. It would be my wiſh to make it ten thouſand times broader than it is, but if that project be as impracticable as your own, *if* nature has rendered it impracticable that we ſhould be ſo loſt to ourſelves, as to feel the uſe, the pleaſure, and the neceſſity of living in peace, and of loving each other, I ſhould then wiſh for that INSULAR CONNEXION, which might yield ſupplementary ſtrength, but ſtill retain public independence; which might, in each iſland, aſſimilate, but not in both, annihilate the Britiſh conſtitution (the inevitable conſequence of an Union) I ſay, the Britiſh conſtitution, *as*, and *only as*, eſtabliſhed in fundamental principles, immemorial uſages, and memorable precedents, ſuch as the Great Charter,

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the Bill of Rights, the Habeas Corpus, and that memorable precedent which altered the deſcent; and brought another family, as it might now, with the ſame parliamentary authority and popular acquieſcence, bring another perſon from the ſame family to the poſſeſſion of the Iriſh throne.

It has been your crime, your error, or your misfortune, to have weakened the ſtrong hold of that family in the hearts of their people; to have weakened the force of the empire by a diſtraction of the legiſlatures; and to have weakened the ſtrength of this iſland, by political perſecution under religious pretexts; for nothing is of greater verity, than that the Catholics are not ſubject to a foreign juriſdiction except in ſpirituals, and have ſolemnly and repeatedly diſavowed it; juſt as the Diſſenters diſclaim any temporal authority, and reſt their faith, in the words and works of *another* ſupreme power—their Redeemer and Judge. They as little acknowledge the competency of the ſtate, to regulate their religious concerns, as the Catholics; and the Catholics ſuffer for the ſame cauſe, and on the ſame grounds, in which the Diſſenters have ſo often ſuffered at the ſtake, and bled in the field. ALMIGHTY GOD!—Univerſal FATHER!—Pity

and

and forgive the folly of thy creatures, claiming from thee the ETERNAL! the privileges of primogeniture, and by acts of ſupremacy and uniformity, making thy divine juſtice, and thy omnipreſent benevolence, the accomplice of their pride and partiality.

It would be my plan, to bind the iſlands together, not by cramps of iron, but by coincidence of intereſt and community of privilege; to ſubdue open and ſmothered war in this country, to conquer France at leaſt in Ireland, by ſpeedily placing the whole people on the ſame level of political equality, which Alfred gave to the Danes, and to the Engliſh; which the truly heroic Alexander, in ſpite of Ariſtotle, gave to the Perſians as well as Greeks, although the latter had ſuch an extraordinary opinion of themſelves, as ſcarcely to acknowledge the reſt of mankind as of the ſame ſpecies; that ſame political equality, which even the Moors granted to the Spaniards for the ſpace of four hundred years. It would be my plan, to counterpoiſe the power of France, in the affections of the people, by fighting it with its own weapons; not to trou-

ble yourſelf by marching to Paris, but to make the genius of the Britiſh conſtitution, encounter the genius of Jacobiniſm in the covert receſſes of the human heart. What, vaineſt and moſt vaunting of men! What do you boaſt of? Armies and navies, martial laws and loans of millions, tactic of Toler, and finance of Corry, when there is a SOMETHING in *abeyance*, perhaps the more formidable by not giving it a name, which I might call, if not the ſpirit, the ghoſt of the old Britiſh conſtitution; that, terrible in its form, and excelling in brightneſs, paſſes at times acroſs your mind, and makes you tremble in the ſeat of your pride. I do repeat it, that France muſt be encountered in the human heart, and without you gain poſſeſſion of that little organ, your military organization, and your political conſolidation, penal codes revived, or new courſes of coercion, are at preſent precarious; and will ultimately prove unſucceſsful. An engineer as little as a dwarf, lean and pale, can do what two thouſand ſavages, ſtronger than Milo, are not able to accompliſh; and one or two conciliatory laws, ſhort in their letter, but ſtupendous in their moral force, would

would have an effect beyond ten thouſand of Barbarian policy. Sir!—Sir!—While you want the maſter key to the Iriſh heart, you will find it vain to pick the lock by corruption, or force it by intimidation.

Enlightened, but not warmed with claſſic lore, it has been your aim, to check the Liberty of literature, from a fear of the literature of Liberty; and from a dread which the REPUBLIC OF LETTERS inſpires, even by its very name. Without looking to the context of his life and opinions, without regard to the immortal intereſts of ſcience and Philoſophy, Horne Tooke was immured in the Tower, and his courageous integrity, and his *vital* friendſhip put to the teſt, while Windham was hunting after ſome rival, who might at the ſame time, put down his ingenuity and his learning. Had they lived, Milton would have been called down from the muſic of the ſpheres, by the imperative rap of a bow-ſtreet runner; and Shakeſpeare would, for certain paſſages in his Julius Cæſar, have received a caſtigatory examination from the ſon of the poet Canning. Boyle and Locke would have been huſ-

tled out of the Country, and Bacon would have kept his place—only by being the meaneſt of mankind. It is the conſequence of your plan, to blaſt and deſtroy literature for ever in this country, its young hopes, and proſpects of excellence. It is the Dutch policy, to burn all the ſpiceries which a *too* fertile ſeaſon produces, beyond what they expect to diſpoſe of with profit; and to collect the young bloſſoms, and green leaves of the nutmeg trees, in order to extirpate them. England!—I envy you *your* Sheridan, though I freely part, with all that was Engliſh, in *your* Burke.

Inſtead of making this iſland a nurſery, from whence, principles and practices may be tranſplanted noxious, to your own Engliſh conſtitution; inſtead of ſending Iriſh genius, to be fawned and flattered in a Britiſh ſenate, into its living ſhame and its immortal infamy, I would cultivate the bloſſoming talent of my own country and keep it there. The wily wiſdom of Dundas, ſhould in vain hold out the temptation, of a more ample field for the play of intereſt and ambition in continental cares, and European politics—Dundas—himſelf

ſelf, belonging to a country, in which there are fourteen millions of acres of waſte land, in which a tract of land compoſing a fifth part of Great Britain (I mean the High-lands, the Connaught of Scotland) with ſome exceptions, is in a ſtate of nature, where a great body of the people, the moſt virtuous of the whole iſland, have been dragging out a miſerable exiſtence, periſhing through want, or forced, through wild deſpair, to abandon country, kindred and friends, and to embark moneyleſs and unknown, indented ſlaves; a country through which Johnſon rambled, throwing out his Londoner ſneer at its deſolation, and feaſting and flattered in the hall of Macleod, while the ſtorm raged abroad, drowning the cry of human miſery, that would have touched a more ſympathiſing heart, and which even a penſioner might have repeated to his ſovereign.—Let Dundas of Scotland, but to his great comfort *out of* Scotland, preſent his allurements to Iriſh ambition, while he taunts us as a little iſland "*ſurrounded by the ſeas*," (I pardon the tautology for the truth of the expreſſion) but in my opinion, there is no ſubject more completely adequate to the high-

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eſt ſublimity of genius, and to the better intellect of a capacious heart, than the care and education of our own country, though it were ten times ſmaller than it is; and, to my eyes, Ulyſſes appears greater, and more humanly divine, while wiſtfully watching the curling ſmoke that aſcended from Ithaca; more ſublime, when he poured his vengeance on the ſuitors, than when he ſpoke in the congreſs of kings, or fought in the plain of Troy, or deſcended from the fatal horſe, in darkneſs and treachery, to plunge his ſword in the boſom of a ſleeping city.

In fine—Sir—it has been your plan, to put down private opinion by open force; to give political intolerance the edge and rancour of a religious perſecution, and to take away the life of man, for the diabolical crime of taking a Teſt,* and entering into particular aſſociations, which the right adminiſtration

* It is an hiſtorical fact, that the firſt Chriſtians uſed a covenant and agreement, and thoſe who were not united were called "Aſynthetous, kai aſpondous," "incompoſitos, et ſine fœdere." Their Teſt of Aſſociation

tion of general government might have superseded, and STILL MIGHT SUPERSEDE. It would be my plan, to destroy intrigue from France, and corruption from England, by rallying every Irishman without distinction, about his own interest, in the LOVE of his COUNTRY. Vain wish! it may be said, while William Pitt continues Prime Minister, and Charles Fox a private man. Yet, before I sink into the silence and obscurity of nature and station, let my national pride, give the personal pride of that Minister, a piece of advice contained in three words, which take in the whole extent of Adam Smith, and sound the depth of David Hume; which form the golden rule of a good, wise, and permanent government; the grand secret of commercial concerns, and political œconomy; the true means of consolidation, and most durable ce-

Association was called Syntheke, which is translated Conventus, but in reality it clearly signifies a Covenant; and Pliny tells us, that the Christians took an oath to live "thus, and thus," that is, to cultivate a brotherly affection.

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ment of connexion; uniting laconic brevity with attic terſeneſs, and the ſagacity of the ſage, with the ſimplicity of the child—in three warning words——LET US ALONE.

WILLIAM DRENNAN.

MARLBOROUGH-STREET,
28*th February*, 1799.

THE

CASE OF IRELAND

RECONSIDERED,

In Anſwer to a Pamphlet, entitled

ARGUMENTS

FOR AND AGAINST

AN UNION,

CONSIDERED.

Quis talia demens
Abnuat aut tuum malit contendere bello:
Si modo quod memoras factum fortuna ſequatur?
Sed ſatis incerta feror ſi Jupiter unam
Eſſe velit Tyriis urbem, Trojaque profectis
Miſcerive probet populos aut fœdera jungi.

VIRG. Lib. IV.

LONDON, PRINTED.

DUBLIN, RE-PRINTED BY JAMES MOORE,

No. 45, College-Green.

1799.

PREFACE.

WHOEVER takes the trouble of peruſing the following pages, is ſuppoſed to be acquainted with the Pamphlet in anſwer to which it was written. Much more may certainly be ſaid upon the ſubject of an Union with England and Ireland, but it is needleſs to advance any other arguments than thoſe called forward by a perſon, ſuppoſed to have written in the confidence of Government, till the plans themſelves, which ſhall be propoſed, have ſhewn whether the weight of ſuch arguments has not been already felt and admitted.

If it has been neceſſary to recal to mind thoſe penal laws from which Ireland has been liberated at different times, by the wiſdom and humanity of its legiſlature, it has been done with the greateſt reluctance, and only with a view of enforcing the contraſt of her depreſſed and miſerable ſtate under the reign of religious perſecution, and her unexampled progreſs

in every ſpecies of improvement, under the influence of a more liberal ſyſtem: a progreſs which it is ſcarcely poſſible for any Union to accelerate, and which has not been interrupted by the nature of her preſent connection with England, which an Union is to alter but in the remnant of thoſe prejudices which it is to confirm.

I was unwilling to dwell upon ſo diſagreeable a ſubject, by quoting the different Acts of Parliament by which thoſe penal laws have been eſtabliſhed. Every man at all converſant in Irish hiſtory, will ſee that I have been accurate in deſcribing them. For every other fact, relating to the ſtate of Ireland and the nature of the leading parties, I acknowledge myſelf indebted to the Author of *Arguments for and againſt an Union conſidered.*

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RECONSIDERATIONS, &c.

A PAMPHLET, entitled "*Arguments for and againſt an Union conſidered*, which is generally aſcribed to the pen of a perſon high in the confidence of the Iriſh Government, authoriſes us (I mean the public unconnected with any political party) to believe, that an Union of the Legiſlatures of Great Britain and Ireland is now under diſcuſſion by the leading characters of both kingdoms.

Yielding to the Author's invitation to a temperate agitation of this queſtion, it ſtruck me as a matter of no ſmall conſequence in the firſt ſtep of the buſineſs, that there is an eſſential difference in the deſcription of men who come under this denomination in the two kingdoms.

The leading characters of England may enjoy not only the confidence of the Government, but alſo that of the People at large; this happineſs is at preſent theirs beyond diſpute, and whatever may be the reſult of their negotiations in this moſt important buſineſs, the Engliſh public, conſcious of the identity of their intereſts, and the purity of their motives, will probably reſt ſatisfied that they have done all that could be done.

In Ireland it is quite otherwiſe.

On ſuch dangerous ground I ſhall not venture one ſtep beyond what the pamphlet I allude to will bear me through. Every conſequence I draw ſhall be

from the poſitions it affords; I will uſe its words in the very ſenſe it uſes them; with the exact meaning the context attaches to them. I do not preſume to ſay, that I anſwer the arguments it brings forward; and though my reflections upon the ſame ſubject may ſometimes lead me to an oppoſite concluſion, I will keep it conſtantly before my eyes, and look up to it as a ſafe and ſteady light held out to guide us; not as one of thoſe malignant vapours which riſe from the ſinks of corruption to lead the traveller aſtray.

If my obſervations ſhould prove any way uſeful, I am confident the profeſſed candour of its Author will pardon me for differing from him in opinion. I hope we have both the ſame end in view, though we travel to it by different roads.

Ireland is the weaker party; her welfare, if any diſcordant intereſts ſhould ariſe, naturally runs the greater riſk in the negotiation; particularly ſo, as her leading characters to whom it is entruſted, are *neceſſarily* men whoſe intereſts, paſſions, and prejudices, muſt be in oppoſition to thoſe of at leaſt three-fourths of the people they are called upon to treat for. I take this as the proportion of the Catholics to the Proteſtants of Ireland, becauſe it is adopted by the pamphlet, that my reaſoning may not be interrupted by any doubt of its premiſes; four or five to one I believe, from good authority, to be nearer the truth. In this Proteſtant fourth, which I aſſume for argument, are, no doubt, included the Preſbyterians, who have no ſhare in the Proteſtant church eſtabliſhment. The other religious Sects in Ireland are inconſiderable in number. I take the Author's ſtatement of property for the ſame reaſon, though I believe it is not a little exaggerated; and if at any time it ſhould happen to me to uſe the word *prejudices*, for what would more properly be termed religious perſuaſion, it is not from any want of reſpect, but to ſhew that even that ſenſe which is often unfairly

unfairly applied to it, takes away no claim to respect and conſideration where it evidently has no bad tendency, and is unconquerably rooted in the minds of men.

Nine-tenths of the property of Ireland are in the hands of the Proteſtants, ſcarcely a fourth part of the population, and all that is not in the hands of this minority is to be for ever diſfranchiſed; the majority, whatever may be their property at preſent, or in future, are excluded by *law* from the legiſlature and the great offices of the ſtate, and *in reality*, I may ſafely ſay that they are ſhut out from all the honors and emoluments of it. Thus, not only is property degraded, and ſtripped of the advantages which it is the eſſence of our conſtitution to attach to it, by coming into the hands of the majority of the people, but they are cut off from many of the moſt fertile ſources of property itſelf. Though it is allowed, that the wider it is diſtributed among numbers, or the greater the proportion of the people participating of it in a ſtate, the more ſecure is the government and property of that ſtate. The very large ſums which are levied yearly upon the whole of the people for the uſes of government, but which are paid back to them in the perſons of its ſervants, are, in Ireland, returned to a very limited deſcription of its inhabitants; in ſome caſes, this is the effect of excluſive laws; in others, becauſe theſe emoluments, even to the moſt trifling, are given to parliamentary influence, which three-fourths of them cannot have, *becauſe the Iriſh Houſe of Commons was framed with the ſole view of excluding Roman Catholics*. It is evident, that the whole maſs of wealth in the country in ſome years undergoes this partial diviſion*. Thus is the diſproportion of property to

* This is not, as a *Memoire* upon the ſame ſubject expreſſes it, the right hand ſettling accounts with the left, but a forced and unnatural ſtagnation of the nouriſhing juices in one bloated member.

numbers, continually increaſing in a moſt rapid progreſſion, a dangerous one to all Europe, perhaps, in its preſent ſtate. In this manner are all honors and emoluments reſerved to a very ſmall portion of the country. The large majority of thoſe who contribute their full proportion to the exigencies of the ſtate, and more than their proportion of men, I dare ſay eight to one, to its defence, have indeed very lately been allowed a vote for a repreſentative, with this *expreſs proviſo*, that they give it to one of thoſe perſons who enjoy this *monopoly* againſt them. Of this deſcription are theſe leading characters who are about making a definitive bargain for Ireland.—It requires not much political ſagacity to perceive, that this radical vice in Government, with the paſſions and prejudices that begot it, and which it naturally begets, and the monſtrous inſtitutions it muſt have recourſe to for its ſupport, cannot but be eſſentially detrimental to any ſtate in proportion as it is allowed to exiſt in it; and that laws which for a century cramped the induſtry of a people, debarred them from education, armed the brother againſt the brother, and rewarded the ſon for betraying the father, muſt, for ſome time, even after the better ſenſe and humanity of government have repealed them, leave a people poor, ignorant, with little reſpect for law, and ferocious from a ſenſe of injury. And if the higher claſſes in ſuch a ſtate have been ſupported by laws of this kind, in a monopoly of power and wealth, if they ſtill ſpeculate upon the excluſion of three-fourths of their countrymen upon religious grounds; though the charges of corruption and want of principle almoſt proverbially objected to theſe monopoliſts, may be falſe (as I hope they are,) yet we muſt acknowledge they would be very natural conſequences of ſuch a ſyſtem.

What

What does this publication propoſe? Not to complete the work of wiſdom and humanity, by removing for ever the remaining cauſes of theſe evils, but to entail them for ever upon the country; not to change the nature of a government confeſſedly bad, by the application of a principle confeſſedly good, but to change the name only by a political ſophiſm. To unite this *unnatural government*, (I repeat the words of the pamphlet to deter us from acquieſcing in its ſentiments) *this Proteſtant monopoly, which a party of thoſe Proteſtants themſelves term unjuſt and abſurd, which great leaders of oppoſition, who poſſibly may be the future miniſters of England, condemn; to which ſome of the actual members of the Britiſh cabinet are ſuppoſed to be adverſe*; to unite this ſyſtem, *whoſe policy is much doubted by the people of England, whoſe exiſtence is precarious, reſting upon accident, upon a change of Miniſters, upon the temper of a Vice-Roy, the death of a ſingle man*; to unite ſuch a ſyſtem irrevocably with the wiſdom, juſtice, and fair fame, of the Britiſh parliament, to make it a partner in the ſentiments which ſuch principles of government muſt excite through all Europe; not to cut the root from which *conſpiracy and revolt have ſhot up with the proſperity of Ireland*, but to tranſplant it to the heart of England, ſeems to be the ſcope of the Union which it adviſes the two countries to adopt.

To prove that unleſs the known cauſe of all our misfortunes and diſgrace be removed, no alteration of form, nor of name, will alter the nature of the country, or give laſting peace and ſecurity to it; that an Union upon ſuch a principle will only unite the open and grounded diſcontent of Ireland to whatever cauſes of complaint remain in England; that it will lay both countries open to the machinations of foreign and domeſtic enemies, and create in Ireland new ſources of diſturbance, whilſt it drains her of the little ſtrength ſhe has left, is the object

object of the review I mean to make of the arguments contained in this extraordinary pamphlet.

I ſhall alſo endeavour to prove by the experience of other great countries, as well as by argument, that all religious diſtinctions may be aboliſhed, the government reconciled to principle, at the ſame time that every human ſecurity may be given to the Proteſtants of Ireland for their church eſtabliſhment, their properties, and even their preponderance in the ſtate. This once done, the queſtion of an Union, when the terms of it are known, may be fairly diſcuſſed.

Leſt I ſhould be miſtaken, or the drift of what I advance miſinterpreted; (of what little conſequence ſoever my opinion may be,) I think it right to declare that I am no enemy to this meaſure, provided it be a fair and broad Union, proved to be for the good of the whole country, and not a narrow and inſidious Union, playing the fears of one ſet of men againſt thoſe of another, and avowedly brought forward for purpoſes of party and oppreſſion. But if any other mode can be deviſed to remedy the inconveniencies of two ſovereign legiſlatures, in queſtions of public concern, without the manifeſt inconveniencies of an incorporating union, I believe, upon examination, ſuch a mode will be preferred. Till ſuch time as the terms are propoſed we muſt ſuſpend our judgment upon its probable effects. The only queſtion fairly before us, which now calls loudly for inveſtigation, is whether more than three-fourths of the people of Ireland ought to be ſhut out from the full and equal benefit of whatever conſtitution ſhe is to have, as the author of theſe Arguments does not merely inſinuate, but advances with a candor which at leaſt does him ſome honor; whether in the preſent ſtate of men's minds all over the world, there is not ſome danger in excluding formally, three millions out of four,

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in a detached country, from the juſt and reaſonable rights which they ſee their fellow ſubjects enjoy. Would not ſuch an act of a legiſlature, upon which all Europe has its eyes, corroborate thoſe democratic principles which have looſened the foundations of all ſociety, furniſh new arguments to their emiſſaries, and give ſome colour to the aſperſions they ſo profuſely throw upon all eſtabliſhed governments. It is worth inquiring, whether it would not be poſſible to act otherwiſe without danger.

The idea of its being decided by force is very properly given up as replete with miſchief. No country can be ſafely or advantageouſly kept by force. The example of the whole world, all the late tranſactions of it, are in proof of this aſſertion. A poſt for military or commercial purpoſes, ſuch as Gibraltar, may be worth keeping at a great unproductive expenſe; but to keep a nation ſo, and make one fourth of the inhabitants a garriſon againſt the remainder would be ruinous, and anſwer no end, if it were feaſible. It is an error to think military governments may be in oppoſition to general opinion, of all others they take moſt pains to conciliate it, at leaſt Lewis XIV. and the great Frederic did.

The firſt maxim laid down is, that *every independent ſociety or ſtate has a right to propoſe the means which appear moſt probable for the attainment of the happineſs of its people, conſiſtent with its duties and obligations.* But what duties and obligations can be in oppoſition to the happineſs of the people? *Salus populi ſuprema lex.*—This is a large conceſſion, and might lead ſpeculative men to advance, if they thought it would contribute to the happineſs of the people, *that ſeparation and independency ought to be maintained at all hazards.* When this is ſupported by quoting the *right* the Spaniſh Netherlands had to ſeparate from the Spaniſh government, becauſe they were

were oppreſſed, we fall inſenſibly into the maxim we certainly have often enough heard reprobated; that maxim which brought its author to the dungeon of Olmutz. *L'inſurrection eſt le plus ſaint des devoirs.*

The admiſſion of this principle however puts the diſcuſſion upon the faireſt poſſible footing, and I believe firmly the application of it in its fulleſt extent would rather ſtrengthen than endanger a fair connection with England.

The * caſe of the Sabines can afford us very little inſtruction: what two inconſiderable towns did above two thouſand years ago cannot ſerve as an example for two great nations in our times. But of this we may be pretty ſure, that the Romans never made the renunciation of their worſhip a preliminary article of union with the Sabines. They were the people in the world, who incorporated moſt nations with their own; but in every caſe were not only the new ſubjects admitted into their government, but their gods found a place in their temples. Their incorporating members of diſtant countries with their ſtate has always been reckoned among the principal cauſes of their downfal.—I think it is Monteſquieu ſays, that, as the ſtate extends, the number of its ſenators ſhould be diminiſhed. This would rather make againſt the policy of increaſing the number of Britiſh ſenators, by admitting the Iriſh, and adding the diſcuſſion of the buſineſs of Ireland to that of the immenſe territories over which Britiſh power or Britiſh influence extend.

The Heptarchy of England affords no uſeful ground of compariſon in the preſent caſe of Ire-

*From the accounts which the papers give of the gallantry of the Britiſh Militia with the fair as well as in the field one would imagine they had read Mr. C's pamphlet, and were imitating the Romans in ſettling the preliminaries of union with the Sabines.

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land; their ſituation, ſmall, undivided by nature, with few complicated and no claſhing intereſts, and the difference in the ſtate of the world at that period, take away all points of ſimilitude. Wales was united by conqueſt, but its wiſe conqueror did not deem attention to their prejudices beneath his dignity, nor conciliation and due conceſſion weakneſs of government. The caſe of Scotland will be treated more fully hereafter.

If an Union is to be compared to a partnerſhip in trade, two houſes in a ſeparate ſituation, but cloſely connected, ſhould conſider well whether they could not carry on their buſineſs more to their mutual advantage under ſeparate firms, than by going into partnerſhip. If there was a want of credit and capital in one, it ſhould reflect, whether it did not proceed from ſome family diſagreements, and whether both credit and capital did not increaſe in proportion as thoſe diſputes were forgotten; but if the clerks and ſervants of the houſe were found to have fomented theſe domeſtic quarrels, it would be very wiſe to diſcharge them. Above all, it ſhould take care not to be dazzled by the extenſive concerns and ſplendid income of its future partner, the other ſide of his books ſhould be carefully examined. If it found there immenſe debts contracted in ſpeculations, of no one of which any thing now remained but the embarraſſment, under the heads *of Balance of Europe, Dutch barriers, Succeſſion to the crown of Spain, American colonies*, that the houſe was ſtill deeply embarking itſelf in ſuch ſpeculative plans at an incalculable expenſe, that its habits were far from œconomical, its ſervants not very diſintereſted, its connections unable to ſhare in the expenſe of their joint ventures; the compariſon drawn from trade would not be in favour of an Union.

The American Union, which is juſtly praiſed in the following ſheets of the pamphlet,, contradicts the

aſſertion, that an Union pre-ſuppoſes that the contracting States ſhall be bound together by the ſame conſtitution, laws, and government. Each of the United States has reſerved its conſtitution, laws, government, and religious regulations, and deputed to the Sovereign Aſſembly a power only in queſtions of general intereſt. Scotland has preſerved her religious eſtabliſhment in oppoſition to that of England, and an epiſcopal party at home.

The inferiority of Ireland in *civilization, agriculture, commerce, manufactures, morals, manners, eſtabliſhments, conſtitution, and the ſuperiority of England*—is a leſs reproach to Ireland than to the nation under whoſe influence, I might ſay under whoſe government ſhe has been brought up. The people of Ireland, till within theſe few years, were not admitted into Proteſtant ſchools, were not allowed to have ſchools of their own, nor to be educated abroad. The merit of every government is to be appreciated by the ſtate of its ſubjects. If Ireland has made any progreſs, it is ſince ſhe has aſſerted ſome degree of independence of England ſince 1780. In the reputation of the armies and navies of Great Britain, Ireland cannot be denied a conſiderable ſhare; ſhe has furniſhed to both in this war upwards of 200,000 men.

The conſpiracies, inſurrections and rebellions which have diſgraced us, proclaim our defects in civilization and policy—but do they not proclaim to every intelligent mind the ſhameful inattention, the political ignorance, or the oppreſſion of the government under whoſe abſolute controul Ireland exiſted for many centuries. Our religious diſcontents and jealouſies have been our bane, and to cure them an Union is propoſed to us on the baſis of perpetuating the excluſion of three-fourths of the nation on account of their religious principles.

Would you adviſe a ſon uneducated, unimproved, injured by bad habits, and bad company—to marry the perſon

perſon under whoſe influence he had fallen into ſo diſgraceful a ſituation, and to make over to her the management of his perſon and eſtates, would you adopt for him the plan under which he contracted his vices, or that under which he begins to give better hopes. May not the recent Misfortunes of Ireland, upon calm conſideration, be aſcribed to a relapſe into prejudices and habits contracted during its former ſtate? or rather to the efforts of a party, to force on us again our childiſh trammels which we had outgrown? This accounts for the Union of all deſcriptions of men in the late oppoſition to government.

The remnant of religious diſtinction furniſhed that diſcontent upon which factious men are ever at work, and without which they have no proſpect of ſucceſs. Would Scotland be ſo inacceſſible to their attempts, if the Preſbyterians there were treated like the Catholics in Ireland? And what difference is there between an Iriſhman and a Scotchman, that the religion of the one ſhould be treated with reſpect, that of the other with contempt? But is the reaſon to be ſought in the religion itſelf; that of Ireland is not leſs ancient, leſs noble, leſs extenſive; the greateſt men and the greateſt nations of Europe have never been aſhamed of profeſſing it; it is not leſs ſafe; it has long exiſted in monarchies and in republics; the firſt duty it inculcates is obedience to the power of the ſtate.

From Switzerland and Germany innumerable proofs can be drawn, that there is nothing in the religion of Roman Catholics incompatible with the freeſt forms of government. All Europe is a proof of their attachment and loyalty to their kings and the eſtabliſhed governments of their country. In any other part of the world but England it would be ridiculous to ſpeak of the fear of the Pope's ju-

riſdiction; but of that fear and of his power and interference I ſhall have occaſion to ſpeak hereafter.

Our agriculture and our trade were making a moſt rapid progreſs, and began to improve from the moment that an intermiſſion in this phrenzy of religious prejudice allowed us to follow our own intereſts, by taking off the reſtraints which clogged the induſtry and damped the ſpirit of the nation. It is a laughable thing to hear great ſtateſmen, men whoſe profound political knowledge is the conſtant ſet off againſt their avowed immorality and want of principle, to hear ſuch politicians talk of ſerving their country by taking from three-fourths of the inhabitants of it, their incitements to induſtry and exertion.

The next aſſertion we meet cannot be contradicted.

The ſtate into which the exorbitant, convulſive power of France has thrown all Europe, does certainly command every nation to come forward with all its energy; no portion of the population of any country can now be withheld from an hearty cooperation in defence of all that is dear to ſociety, out of compliment to any party, or to any prejudice. And is it fair to tell men, that they muſt ſpill the laſt drop of their blood, and ſpend their laſt ſhilling, for a cauſe in which they are not allowed an equal intereſt with thoſe of the ſame rank of life by whoſe ſide they are fighting? Is it generous? Is it becoming a nation, the example as well as the protectreſs of Europe? Will the heart of an Engliſhman dictate, or his hand ſign ſuch a contract?

I cannot repeat it too often—the Union is a ſecondary queſtion—Give the people of Ireland cauſe to be content. They may be ſatisfied by an Union, they may be ſatisfied without it, but until they are, no form of government will avail. Do not liſten to thoſe idle ill-tempered exclamations, The people of Ireland never can be ſatisfied! Aſk yourſelves calmly

ly, Has a fair trial ever been made? Aſk yourſelves —not what has been done, but what remains to be done? Do not take the trouble of removing any man from your ſtate priſons to your council chamber, to aſk him, whether the people feel their grievances, or would give the value of a *drop of ink* to have them removed. God has not made two ſeparate ſets of feelings for his creatures. Look into your own hearts, and aſk, what would you feel, if to-morrow yourſelves, your children, your friends were to be degraded to the ſituation of Iriſh Roman Catholics: excluded from the legiſlature, from the honours, the confidence, the emoluments of their country, their only ſhare in it, a vote for the men who exclude them. Go no farther.—Read there the anſwer of the Iriſh Roman Catholics to your queſtion. Is it no injury to exclude them from the great offices of the ſtate, becauſe they have no chance of getting them? How many of thoſe great men who were preſent when this queſtion was aſked, have riſen from conditions in life as low as that of any Roman Catholic? How many of their family have they dragged forward with them? How many Roman Catholics can boaſt of as high deſcent and as good education as the proudeſt amongſt them? Are the great prizes to be taken out of the lottery becauſe there are ſo many chances againſt drawing them; and are the tickets to be ſold at the ſame price?

In page 8, I am ſent to France, to Republican France, for leſſons of political wiſdom and juſtice; to ſeek in French fraternization a model for uniting Ireland. But diſguſt ſhall not hinder me from drawing information from every ſubject—Brabant, Holland, Sardinia, all the French conqueſts, do give important leſſons. Contempt for the privileges and the religious prejudices of the country, military executions, an infatuated obſtinacy in maintaining in their places, a governor and miniſters, perſons the

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moſt obnoxious to the people, gave Brabant to France. The name of Re-union, nor all their 700,000 men in arms, cannot keep them from revolting againſt the tyranny of France; and will not (I am no prophet, and yet I foretel it) keep them to France, unleſs ſhe adopt a better ſyſtem. Partiality in the diſtribution of favours, national hatred between Savoy and Piedmont, opened Savoy and let in ruin on the king of Sardinia.—Interior diſcontent prepared the way for them into Holland;—a monopoly of power, honour and emoluments, into Berne; a provincial government, diſtant from the ſeat of empire, into Milan and the ſtates of Venice. Theſe are the axioms of politics which French conqueſts are illuſtrating to the world. Perhaps we may alſo ſoon have to learn from them, that their annexing countries with the name of Union—is not uniting them. Great Britain would be this day as open as ever to the intrigues and attacks of France, though a roll of parchment, endorſed Articles of Union, had been interchanged between their commiſſioners, if the Church-of-England party in Scotland had by thoſe articles pretended to exclude the Preſbyterian religion, not only from any church eſtabliſhment, but from any ſhare in the civil government; while the people were forced to pay biſhops whom they execrated, and prieſts whom they could not liſten to. Any thing in the ſhape of mere toleration would not have united the two kingdoms.

The avenue to diſunion muſt be cloſed, but not with parchment deeds. We too often miſtake the inſtrument of government for the ſtrength of it. Well indeed does France know the adage, *Dum ſinguli pugnant univerſi vincuntur*; and great muſt be her joy to ſee us governing by parties, ſpilling our blood and waſting our treaſure in religious diſputes, while we are offering our ſubſidies to a nation among the very firſt of Europe, yet in riches, number, and quality

lity of inhabitants, ſcarcely equal to that we are ſo wantonly ruining. Pruſſia, that can arm four hundred thouſand men, is not a country equal to Ireland; her ſubjects, when Frederic triumphed over Europe, were not rated at any thing near five millions;—her climate is inferior, her ports are not to be compared, her ſoil not ſo good, her towns not near ſo conſiderable. But France will ſooner drag the Pope from his cloiſter at Sienna, and ſet him up again, with his treble crown upon his head, to ſcare us from our own intereſts, than ſuffer us to recover our ſenſes and come forward in the plenitude of our power.—What is our power to her, when that Meduſa's head can paralyſe ſo large a portion of our people, or turn their arms againſt each other?

If an Union may be deſirable between two independent kingdoms, it muſt be moſt deſirable where ſuch two kingdoms are united under the ſovereign, and have ſeparate legiſlatures.

The general poſition of this argument would apply as well to Hanover, or to Corſica, when it had George the Third for king, as to Ireland.

The particular deductions from it are rather againſt an Union. The inconveniences of a capital out of the country, of abſentees and rents carried away; of jealouſy and faction; would be increaſed by it. This reaſoning carried to its extent would be for a ſeparation. I admit that there cannot exiſt a full ſtate of ſecurity without ſome reaſonable certainty that all parts of the empire will purſue the ſame ſyſtem; though Hanover is at peace while we, ſubjects of the ſame ſovereign, are at war. It were much to be wiſhed that the American government, or the German union, or the wiſdom of our legiſlators, could furniſh us with ſome plan to enſure co-operation on general ſubjects, and leave each ſtate independent in its own concerns, regulating them by treaty when they interfered.

Scotland

Scotland is next brought in proof. We are taught that, *in the ſituation which that country held previous to the Union, does Ireland ſtand at preſent.*

I muſt make theſe few exceptions:

The crown of Ireland is by expreſs ſtatutes annexed to, and dependent on, the crown of England; *the King of England is ipſo facto King of Ireland.*—The crown of Scotland was by expreſs ſtatute ſeparate from, and independent of, the crown of England; and the King of England *ipſo facto* not King of Scotland; unleſs certain conditions were previouſly complied with.

This put the two nations in the neceſſity of chooſing between an union and a total ſeparation. No ſuch neceſſity in the caſe of Ireland. The King of Ireland reſides in England; but the Scots paſſed a law, that their next King ſhould reſide at home.

Ireland has a Viceroy.—Scotland had none.

Scotland had a martial people, long in habits of war with England, and of alliance with her greateſt enemies, full of the glory and rivalſhip of her ſeparate dominion.—Ireland ſcarcely remembers to have been a ſeparate ſtate, has no allies but thoſe of England, never has been a rival power.

Scotland is not ſeparated from England.—Ireland is ſeparated by a barrier impaſſable frequently for weeks together, always uncertain and inconvenient.

Scotland was then very poor.—Ireland is growing faſt into riches.

In Scotland, the religion of the people was permitted to be the religion of the country: it was not barely tolerated, but eſtabliſhed and confirmed, by all that human wiſdom could deviſe, before the Articles of Union were diſcuſſed in Parliament.

In Ireland, the religion of the people is not permitted to be the religion of the country; it is ſcarcely tolerated; the religion of a ſmall minority (a political

litical phenomenon) is the eſtabliſhed religion of the ſtate.

The people of Ireland are excluded from a ſhare in the government on account of their religion—and this excluſion is made the baſis of the Union which this pamphlet propoſes.

A war between Scotland and England was, as it were, declared, if an Union did not take place.

A war with Ireland is not probable, if the people are ſatisfied, though no Union ſhould take place—and is to be feared, though an Union ſhould take place, if the cauſes of diſcontent are not removed.

The influence of England, which is next taken notice of, is not leſs likely to be complained of after the Union than before. It certainly is neceſſary for the Britiſh cabinet to *induce the Iriſh Parliament to agree to its meaſures*, or to explain for *the benefit of country gentlemen*, to have a certain majority in the Iriſh Parliament. The Britiſh miniſters have ſeldom found any great difficulty in procuring ſuch a majority; the patronage of the crown has not been found inſufficient to enſure it in almoſt every caſe; in the Regency buſineſs it was not deficient, the only queſtion was from what ſide it was to flow, and ſome people gueſſed wrong.

Immediately after we find that, *one million of the rents of abſentees are ſpent in England*—but will leſs be ſpent when all the buſineſs of Ireland is tranſacted there? *A Viceroy diſpoſing of the patronage of the crown, one executive, one preſiding cabinet*, all theſe that are already exiſting between the two kingdoms. As to their arguments againſt the neceſſity of any other connection than the preſent, I do not believe the inefficacy to do good in the government of Ireland lies in the nature of its connection with England, but in the nature of the parties which England allows to preponderate in the Iriſh legiſlature; parties which ſhe almoſt ſeems to have bargained with for

the government. If better men are conſulted, and better meaſures propoſed, has not the Britiſh cabinet power to ſupport them in the Iriſh Houſes of Parliament? If the preſent men and the preſent meaſures are adopted, will not the Britiſh cabinet have power to continue to ſupport them in the Engliſh Houſes of Parliament as it does in the Iriſh? By whatever means theſe men influence the Engliſh miniſter at preſent, by ſimilar means may they influence him hereafter.

I have already admitted the inconvenience which might reſult from the independence of the Iriſh Parliament, in caſe it ſhould declare againſt meaſures where the whole empire is concerned, and which the Britiſh Parliament had adopted.—*Not that it ſhould exhort the King to make war*, as we are told; which would be no more than any county petition for war. It might, indeed, offer ſubſidies for making war when England was at peace—a caſe not likely to happen. One more poſſible, is, that it might refuſe ſubſidies for a war that England was engaged in; that it might declare againſt treaties, and refuſe to ratify commercial articles. Theſe certainly are inconveniences, but examples of this nature have not often occurred. They are, I think, the ſole ones for which at firſt ſight an Union ſeems the only and neceſſary remedy. But we want a cure for the immediate evils under which Ireland labours. Which of them ſprings from a want of unity in the Britiſh empire? The councils of Ireland have been directed by a Britiſh cabinet, and as little oppoſed, much leſs even, than if they had been debated in an Engliſh Parliament. I am no enemy to a fair Union, but I am convinced that it is not the cure for our preſent calamities, which are of ſuch a nature as may exiſt with it, or may be remedied without it. But as this meaſure is already admitted to carry with it ſome inconveniences, and will be proved to have more,

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it is worth conſidering whether they may not be provided againſt at the ſame time that a remedy is found for thoſe which reſult from the co-exiſtence of two independent legiſlatures. If it could be done, all the neceſſary advantages, and ſuch as an Union alone could give, would be procured; all the diſadvantages, that would follow it, avoided; and the wiſdom of the Britiſh Cabinet and Iriſh Parliament left free to remedy the evils, that are not neceſſarily dependent on the nature of the connection with England, which are thoſe that Ireland feels moſt ſeverely.

I am very far from thinking myſelf capable of propoſing a ſyſtem likely to be adopted; but I ſuppoſe, for experiment ſake, a proviſion could be made for every poſſible caſe in which the intereſts of the two countries are ſo entangled, that a diviſion of ſentiments in the two parliaments would be detrimental to the common cauſe. That upon all thoſe queſtions, the enumerating and ſtating of which would require great political knowledge, a proportionate influence ſhould be given to the votes of Iriſh members deputed *ad hoc* to the Britiſh parliament. Or that theſe queſtions, which may be called imperial queſtions, being diſcuſſed in the Iriſh parliament, the reſult may have the weight of - - - votes in the Engliſh Houſe of Commons and of - - - votes in the Engliſh Houſe of Peers. If the peers and commons of Ireland were proportioned in number with thoſe of England, in a ratio of the ſize, riches, and population of Ireland, the end would be anſwered by ſimply adding up the votes in the two parliaments.

This ſort of voice in deliberative aſſemblies is not without example in the *droit publique* of Germany, and the United Netherlands. It has been found often inefficient in the former, from the number of ſtates concerned, but in the caſe of two ſtates

under the same sovereign it appears much more practicable.

It is an innovation in England, but not a greater one than an incorporating union, nor a more unbecoming one than to see English members voting upon an Irish turnpike bill, or Irish members upon a bridge in Kent.

I am aware of another difficulty, even in questions not *imperial*. It would be an embarrassing circumstance, if the majority of the Irish parliament opposed a minister whom the majority of the British parliament supported. This is a possible case, but in my opinion not a probable one, because the means which a minister is in possession of to *induce* the parliaments to pursue the same line of action are very well proportioned to that end.

It must be remembered that this idea is capable of infinite modification; it may perhaps lead to something useful.

Contributions to the navy, army, and the common burthens of the state, might be here regulated, as well as such arrangements of trade, as might by degrees operate as an Union would, without any sudden change. Here may perhaps be the place to observe, that though Ireland is not specially pledged for the debt of England; yet, if it were possible a bankruptcy should take place in England, both individually and nationally, Ireland, through every class of her inhabitants, would feel in a great degree the effects of it.

As the property of the two countries is very much intermixed, without derrogating from the dignity of Irish peerage, or the sovereignty of the nation in its own concerns, some mode might be struck out, on the same plan, for appeals, more agreeable to English subjects, whose property may frequently be the object of them, than one solely to the Irish House of Peers.

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This plan, or a ſimilar one, has alſo this inappreciable advantage, by its means, without any ſurrender of independence, a complete guarrantee may be given to the Proteſtant intereſt in Ireland againſt their reaſonable fears for their church eſtabliſhment, and their very groundleſs fears for their property on the ſcore of old claims, by placing theſe queſtions among the general conſtitutional concerns of the empire. Many other advantages might be drawn, I think, from ſome plan of this nature. It would add to the dignity of Ireland, by giving her a proportional influence in the concerns of the Britiſh empire, without any ſacrifice or ſurrender of her independence. It would be leſs derrogatory to that of the Britiſh parliament, and leſs inconſiſtent than the admiſſion of any number of Iriſh Commoners and Peers to vote upon queſtions which, nine times in ten, would be foreign to them.

The parliament of Ireland could not then endanger or diſſolve the empire by its oppoſition, nor ſubject itſelf to the imputation of corruption, and ſubſervieney to the Britiſh cabinet by its forbearance, as is objected.

The Union of the parliaments would not hinder Ireland from being a conſtant theme for parties to diſcant upon, as long as glaring abuſes did ſubſiſt. As the queſtion could no longer be ſhifted from before it, if I do not miſtake, this inconvenience would exiſt in a much greater degree. Addreſſes would continually be pouring in from every county in Ireland, and ſuch complaints brought before parliament as their humanity could not diſmiſs, nor the multiplicity of their buſineſs allow them to diſcuſs. How far the charges, upon members of the Britiſh Parliament, *of palliating treaſon, nouriſhing diſcontent, and almoſt vindicating rebellion*, which are made, are well placed, or becoming the reſpect due at all times, but more eſpecially in theſe, to members of the legiſlature, whatever their opi-

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nions may be, is foreign to my purpoſe. The oppoſition of yeſterday may be the miniſters of to-day; ſuch a charge, and ſuch a ſentence on one ſide neceſſarily implies the power of judging and pronouncing on the other in the ſame manner. It may ſerve party ſpleen, but does not ſerve the cauſe of governments. It was a wiſe maxim of Cicero, in his *Amicitia*, "to be enemies as if you were one day to be friends."

We return to Scotland. It ſeems to me, that ſhe was weaned from her partiality to France as early as the time of Queen Mary, much more by the efforts of that Queen, ſupported by the princes of Guiſe her uncles, againſt the reformation, than by the ſubſequent Union. The reſpect paid to the religion of the people ſtopped the progreſs of French influence, which began to revive in favour of the Houſe of Stuart. Notwithſtanding which, two rebellions took place there ſince the Union.

It cannot be denied, that a connection did, as is advanced, exiſt between France and Ireland in the beginning of this century: about the middle of it the pretender was driven from France, who, ſince that period, took very little concern in the affairs of a man, who, indolent and beſotted, took little intereſt in them himſelf. I am ignorant whether he ever named the Roman Catholic biſhops; but I am very ſure he did not name them in concert with the French court, which cared very little about the nomination of thoſe places which gave neither power nor revenue.

We may now ſay there exiſts neither pretender nor no pope, whoſe influence in Ireland or England any ſerious man can affect to dread.

No doubt a *connection with France has lately been renewed*; but thoſe who took the lead in it were of all deſcriptions, but perſons chiefly Preſbyterians and Proteſtants. Of five men who compoſed the Directory,

Directory, four were Proteſtants, although of any other five men in the country, four were Catholics. There is no novelty in the principle of that connection; every diſcontent is an invitation to an enemy, and the French and every enemy to Great Britain will ever have their ears open to ſuch an invitation. I fear much they never will ceaſe to intrigue in Ireland, as we are informed they do, whilſt it remains in its preſent ſtate. But will an Union, upon ſuch a narrow principle as is propoſed, alter that ſtate for the better? Will the people of Ireland welcome excluſion and degradation from a Britiſh, more than from an Iriſh parliament? It is dangerous, it is almoſt treaſon, againſt the cauſe of all regular ſociety, attacked as it is by powerful enemies, to trifle in this manner with the feelings of three millions of people, by excluding them from thoſe rights for which we call upon them to riſk their lives.

We are now to ſuppoſe *an Union, upon fair and equitable principles*, not ſuch an one as we have been ſpeaking about, framed, like the Iriſh parliament, to exclude three-fourths of the Iriſh people; and in this manner the advantages of it are ſummed up.

The monarch remains in England, the abſentee increaſe, London (already ſwelled to an unnatural ſize,) *is the general reſort for buſineſs, for advancement, for pleaſure.* What becomes of Dublin, perhaps now the third city in Europe? So far I ſee but the diſadvantages of our preſent ſituation augmented. Now, what is England to gain; *a mixture of Iriſhmen in her cabinet! The influence, weight, and ability, of Iriſh members in her parliament, and a tranſfer to them of all our party conteſts!* Britiſh faction would ceaſe to ſpeculate in Ireland; but would the ſpirit of it be extinguiſhed in England?

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The moſt important queſtion now comes to be conſidered; and I here ſupplicate the attention of every man who has any regard for the welfare of the Britiſh empire, I conjure him to tread with caution, where war and ruin follow cloſe upon his ſteps, and no retreat is left.

France, it is aſſerted, *could no longer ſpeculate on the nature of our diſtinct government and parliament.* To give us a falſe idea of the ſpeculations of France is to miſlead us in our oppoſition to them. Was there any thing like ſpeculating upon our *diſtinct government and parliament* in her deſigns upon Ireland? Was our Vice-Roy to be made an independent prince? Were our commons or peers to be preſerved? no, the firſt ſtep was to ſweep off Vice-Roy, commons, and peers, as completely as an Union will. So far her ſpeculations are rather helped by this Union.

French influence in Ireland is by all parties acknowledged to be the greateſt misfortune which can happen.

The wildeſt ſpirit of revenge and reſiſtance, the moſt cogent neceſſity, could not overcome this ſentiment in the late rebellion. The aſſiſtance of France was bargained for with a degree of caution which ſhews ſome principle of patriotiſm; and offered with a readineſs, and to an extent, which muſt convince us the object will not eaſily be relinquiſhed.

Of late, the theory of inſurrection has almoſt forced itſelf upon every ſpeculative mind. A province, diſtant from the ſeat of empire, is much more liable to the intrigues of an enemy, than one that has it in its centre.

Not only the judgment and action of government is more prompt, but the influence of its members in their different diſtricts; their conſequence as a part of the ſtate, keep them, their families, and their

their friends, awake to its dangers. What would the ſituation of Ireland have been, if more of its rich inhabitants having been drained off, (an admitted conſequence of the Union,) the grand juries and county meetings had been compoſed of fewer men of rank and property: the yeomanry with fewer gentlemen at its head, or in its ranks: not one member of the legiſlature in any county; in this inſtance their parliamentary duty, in moſt others their inclination, would keep them away; the ſheriffs and grand jurymen adminiſtering eſtates not their own, who had more to hope than to fear from a change. In caſe of a ſeparation, how much eaſier to diſpoſe of 100 abſent legiſlators, than of 500 on the ſpot, ſupported by their families, friends, adherents, and dependents, poſſeſſed of all the local advantages and reſources of the country in which they reſided.—What could the country gentlemen of France do for their monarch, when the ſhort ſighted policy, and jealous ſpirit of deſpotiſm, had drawn them from their caſtles to the court?—What could the moſt loyal provinces do without them; eſpecially when the whole landed influence was thus put into the hands of men, whoſe firſt wiſh was to poſſeſs thoſe eſtates to which they had been ſtewards? Will the caſe be different in Ireland? Already, it is not the money the abſentees draw from that country that is the real injury they do her, but the influence of their great poſſeſſions, dormant, or left in hands very unfit to exerciſe it; by which means a ſpecies of men half educated, with all the obſtinacy and prejudice of ignorance, are intruſted with power as magiſtrates, and recommend themſelves to notice by making a violent uſe of it. What will be the caſe if ſuch an Union takes place? Will the ſtation of gentlemen growing upon the ſoil, with all their intereſts centered in it, be ſupplied by tradeſmen who with one ſtroke of a pen tranſport their property from Cork

to Conſtantinople. They Spaniards ſay, no man ſhould be praiſed till after his death; no political meaſure ſhould be judged till time had ſhewn its full effect. Cardinal Richelieu is reckoned a great ſtateſman, the favorite of kings, becauſe he ſapped the foundations of ariſtocracy. The author of an Union with Ireland may paſs for a great ſtateſman; but time muſt decide, whether the men and power he has drawn from Ireland were not better left in their proper poſts; whether by removing the preſent inconveniences, like Richelieu, he does not eventually let in others of a much greater magnitude. What may not be apprehended, if three-fourths of the people are for ever excluded by it from the legiſlature; deprived of all hope in the preſent order of things? *for the opening, left ſo cautiouſly to be uſed by Proteſtants*, cannot found a hope in the moſt ſanguine breaſt. Will they not be ſtimulated to wiſh for a change, by the heart-rending compariſon with the manner in which the religion of Scotland was treated?—A religion certainly not more friendly to monarchy in its theory and diſcipline, than that, whoſe firſt principle is obedience to the *powers that are.*—Will there be no ſore left that an artful foe might irritate? Will the remembrance of former independence be ſo eaſily wiped away from the minds of thoſe who ſhared in it? Will all Iriſh pride, and Iriſh feeling, be ſhipped off to England with her legiſlature.—They are ſhallow politicians, unfounded in the rudiments of the very ſcience they profeſs, who reaſon upon man in ſociety as an abſtract quantity, diveſted of the feelings, the paſſions, the weakneſſes of man; ignorant artificers! who reckon upon the full force of their power, without conſidering the reſiſtance which the univerſal principle of nature has put in its way. This ſpecies of chamber-ſtateſmen, who think that nothing more is neceſſary to make a law, than to paſs it through the uſual forms,

forms, have been the cauſe of much miſchief. From the material Ruſſian, whoſe feelings extend little beyond the preſſure of external objects on his fibres, to the ſenſitive Italian, whoſe being is imagination—from the vain Frenchman, irritably alive to the opinion of mankind, to the proud Spaniard, iſolated in his opinion of himſelf—from the cool, diſpaſſionate, philoſophic, Engliſhman, calmly adopting the changes which he is taught to believe are right, to the enthuſiaſtic native of Ireland, invincibly attached to the opinions of his fore-fathers; how many nice ſhades of diſcrimination will not that legiſlator be ruled by, who has ſtudied his ſcience in the only book which contains its true principles,—the human heart—I do not pretend to aſcribe it to climate, nor to any other particular cauſe, but every people, like every ſoil, has its peculiar genius, which will not be thwarted, and which muſt be conſulted in the mode of cultivation which we apply to it. Lewis the fourteenth, and the Czar Peter, were both great men; a few yards of red and blue ribbon had as great an effect in Paris as the Knout in Peterſburgh.

How eaſily will that government be conducted, which is in uniſon with the feelings of its ſubjects; the ſlighteſt ſymbol of legal authority will enſure obedience and reſpect, without having recourſe, on every petty occaſion, to that parade of force, which, like the capital of a great banker, is only held out to view when his credit is failing.

Suppoſing (what I have yet ſeen no reaſon to admit) an *encreaſe of wealth, conſequence, ability, and power, from an Union; it will no more tend to encreaſe the ſecurity of the empire*, as long as any germ of diſcontent is left, than an increaſe of blood, animal ſpirits, and ſtrength, will be ſafe in a conſtitution which contains a radical and mortal vice.

Ireland, in its preſent ſituation, might have ſome of the inconveniences of *imperium in imperio*, ſhould

the influence of the Britiſh cabinet be oppoſed in its parliament, in a queſtion of general concern. But by referring the deciſion of all ſuch queſtions to the Britiſh ſenate, with a due allowance of weight to Iriſh votes; this inconvenience is avoided; and with very little change, the conſtitution of Great Britain and Ireland would have every advantage of the American Union, with all thoſe of an hereditary monarchy.

The tenderneſs of the Americans for every man's right to his own thoughts upon abſtract ſubjects, their reſpect for the religious opinions of the majority in each ſtate, well deſerve all the encomiums the author of this pamphlet beſtows upon them. In this way only can all religious ſtruggle and animoſity be prevented, and property ſecured, by replacing government upon its proper baſis. Thus, in the words of Waſhington, which are quoted, "*let the conſtitution, which you now preſent, be the reſult of a ſpirit of amity, and of that mutual deference and conceſſion which the peculiarity of our political ſituation renders indiſpenſable.*"

Having followed the author of this moſt inſtructive pamphlet (perhaps too diffuſely) through the general topics, which the queſtion of an Union naturally ſuggeſts, I return with him now to examine the arguments which reſult from the particular ſituation of Ireland, as to its *property*, its *eſtabliſhments*, and *religious diviſions*. In the application of the general principles to the particular caſes, the ſame matter neceſſarily recurs, and ſome indulgence may be expected for unavoidable repetitions. The method and order of theſe Conſiderations are not my choice, ſo much of their merit or defects I have no ſhare in: Nor is it my fault that the religious diſſentions of Ireland have taken ſo much place; I followed the line of argument laid down. No part of the buſineſs to me appears ſo important, yet none of the

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writings, upon a projected Union, which have fallen into my hands, ſeem to have conſidered them in the ſame light. I had rather the reaſonable claims of the majority of the Iriſh people ſhould be unably recommended to notice by me, than buried for ever ſilently and obſcurely, in the grave which is digging for them.

I avoid enlarging upon the origin of property in the deſcendants of the Engliſh in Ireland, as tending to revive, for no good end, what is nearly forgotten. If any ſuperfluous fears upon the ſubject remain after more than a century of undiſturbed poſſeſſion, and the different acts of ſecurity, I have already pointed out the beſt remedy I know of, a guarantee by England; though I confeſs it appears to me almoſt as ridiculous, as to guarantee the Spaniſh land-holders againſt the claims of the Moors. The proportion of Catholic to Proteſtant, and that of property has been admitted to ſave time. I have the beſt reaſons for believing the number of Catholics to be under rated, that of property exaggerated, if mercantile and funded ſtock, on public and private ſecurity, be taken into account.

Let it, for argument, be nine tenths. Now, where property is admitted to be the baſis of political power, as in our conſtitution, but *numbers*, that of natural power and its laſt reſort, as is advanced in France: this alone — nine-tenths of the property in a fourth of the population, ſeparated from the reſt by invidious diſtinctions of religion, joined with the inequalities naturally ariſing in that fourth, conſtitutes a precarious ſtate of ſociety, and accordingly we find that *Theſe proprietors have been obliged to rely upon Britiſh aſſiſtance for the preſervation of their properties and exiſtence at different periods. That Great Britain is not pledged upon any ſpecific principle to ſupport one ſect more than another.* But if added to the humiliation and other inconveniences

which

which the deprivation of property brings with it, the remaining tenth of it is disfranchiſed, in what manner ſoever it may be diſtributed among the three remaining fourths of the people, *if a Parliament be framed, with the ſole view of excluding them*, and other artificial motives of ſeparation, envy, and even hatred, be maintained between this alarming proportion of *non-proprietors* to *proprietors*, the danger is increaſed to a very great degree, and might become deſperate, were all hope of bettering their condition cut off. In every government, ſays a very deep political writer, *Quot ſunt inopes in republica tot hoſtes habeat neceſſe eſt, præſertim ſublatâ emergendi ſpe.—Mariana de regis inſtitutione.* Here two great politicians are at iſſue, for the author of the arguments ſays, on the contrary, *when once the hope of changing is at an end, and the hope of forcing ſuch a change deſtroyed, diſſatisfaction would ſink into acquieſcence, and acquieſcence into content.* Here the people of Ireland, of all denominations, for this is addreſſed to them all, may ſee through what a ſoft and natural progreſſion their leading characters are preparing to conduct them to happineſs.

I ſhall now endeavour to lay before my reader (ſtill following the pamphlet) the ſtate of ſociety in Ireland, where we have juſt remarked this leading feature.

The religion of three men out of four, which is the religion of the country, is Catholic, and is allowed no ſupport from government. The religion of one man out of four is Proteſtant, which is the *religion* of the ſtate, and is endowed with the tithe of the whole kingdom, beſides great property in land. One man in ſeven is a Preſbyterian, and his religion is alſo ſupported by the government. Many other ſects exiſt in ſmall numbers and unnoticed by government. Such are the barriers which prejudice reinforced by ignorance, and incited by every little

paſſion,

paſſion, has placed between man and man in that Iſland.

Among the peaſantry, the proportion of Roman Catholics is much greater. They are the pooreſt peaſantry in the world, get leaſt for their work, and pay moſt for their land; have the moſt numerous families, and have no help from their pariſhes to ſupport them. After paying a tithe, exacted generally with very great rigour, to ſupport the eſtabliſhed religion, of which they never hear but by the tithe-proctor, they muſt out of their poverty pay ſomething to their own prieſt, who, nearly as poor as themſelves, lives with them and renders them many ſervices. Here I cannot help remarking, that long before America was ſuppoſed to have ſet the example, or China had become an object of inquiry, Ireland had ſolved the problem ſo much diſputed by politicians, and had ſhewn a country with a religion anſwering all the purpoſes of morality and good order, without revenue, and certainly without encouragement from the ſtate, or ſupport from the civil law. No one can ſay that the immenſe church eſtabliſhment is neceſſary or uſeful in general to the people of the country. But that revenue, fairly belongs to the ſtate no one has any claim upon it. After the people have provided for themſelves in their homely way, and at their own expenſe, if our legiſlators chooſe to indulge in the luxury of a ſplendid eſtabliſhment, they are perfectly free, as they are the beſt and only competent judges of the application of the public money.

If, notwithſtanding all theſe diſadvantages, any perſon of this deſcription ſhould acquire property, it is not the ſame thing as that property acquired by a Proteſtant or a Preſbyterian. Of late years, indeed, it gives him a vote, but he cannot give that vote to any perſon of the ſame way of thinking, or in the ſame intereſts as himſelf: that is all the conſequence

ſequence his property can give him. He may hear of others, by their induſtry or their ſucceſs in ſpeculations or inventions, becoming very great men, Members of Parliament, nay even Peers of the Realm. He meets, every day, men born in the loweſt claſſes of his perſuaſion, who have acquired theſe advantages by taking up another religion; but his prieſt has told him, it is ſinful to do it from any other motive but conviction; and the world ſays, it is diſhonourable to do it for intereſt. He has beſides the mortification every day to hear thoſe men, whom he remembers as low as himſelf, telling him that it is no diſadvantage to him to be excluded, becauſe he has ſo ſmall a chance of riſing, as if it were no diſadvantage not to be able to place his vote where he has placed his confidence, and to indulge a hope for himſelf which he ſees realized in his neighbour. And theſe are the men who make him feel his ſituation moſt bitterly, by treating him with contempt and ridicule, and leaning very hard upon him with the power they have acquired. The feelings of the gentlemen are ſtill more hurt, becauſe they hear that language from men, born and educated in a line much beneath them. They cannot ſit in Parliament, and are excluded from the great civil and military offices, the lower ones they have very little chance of, being generally given to men with Parliamentary influence. Many of them have acquired very great military knowledge in foreign ſervices, but they can never hope to be placed in ſituations to diſplay it. They feel hurt again, that they ſhould appear to be miſtruſted, and not allowed to ſit in Parliament, when their peaſantry were allowed a vote for any perſon not of their perſuaſion.

This inferiority muſt make ſociety unpleaſant, or at leaſt very little intereſting to them. And it is to be conſidered, that theſe religious opinions were not wantonly or inconſiderately taken up, but

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have been in the country time out of mind; that they are ſpread through three millions of people, and have reſiſted nearly two centuries of bitter perſecution: ſo that no reaſonable hope can be entertained of eradicating them by force. One of the tenets of this religion is to be faithful to your king, or whatever government you live under; and they ſuffered very much for acting up to it, before they underſtood that the ſtate had called in a new king to the family of their old ſovereign is now extinct, and conſequently no ſcruple can remain in the breaſt of the leaſt informed man, but that his allegiance, as a religious duty, is transferred to the family now on the throne. Indeed this ſentiment has long prevailed. Late events furniſh one of the ſtrongeſt proofs that can exiſt, of the tendency of Roman Catholic principles to loyalty. Every means that human ſagacity could deviſe, argument, wit, ridicule, ſeduction of every kind, were uſed to overthrow this religion, before any attempt could be made to overturn the throne in France. I ſay *this* religion, becauſe whoever is converſant with the works of theſe precurſors of revolution, muſt know that their wit and ridicule was aimed more at the Catholic religion than at any other. The leaders of the French Calviniſts were leaders of the Revolution; *Barnave*, *Rabaud de St. Etienne*, &c. &c. Scarcely any of the Roman Catholic dignified Clergy appeared but to oppoſe its atrocities; many of them fell martyrs to their principles.

The ſame thing was doing in Ireland, (I hope not with the ſame deſign.) And the common people began to yield to the contempt and contumely which ignorant men of confined education, or men of better information and worſe principles, were conſtantly throwing out againſt their religion, without taking care to put another in its place. Their reſpect for their prieſts was weakened, as in the late

rebellion it appeared; the common people were led away, but very few Roman Catholic gentlemen, no ſuperior Roman Catholic clergymen, and out of ſome thouſands a very ſmall number of prieſts were concerned; while the Directory and leading members were Proteſtants and Preſbyterians. I do not ſay this from party ſpirit, either in politics or religion; I hate it, for the miſchief it has done and is ſtill doing in both; but to prove, that the religion which the people of Ireland are attached to is inimical to revolution, and does not in the leaſt interfere with any legal form of government which ſociety may aſſume. Thoſe who have meditated on that epocha of modern hiſtory, when the reformation and ſome other great events conſtituted a new æra among mankind, muſt have perceived the ſpirit of free thinking in religion and in government, ariſing together, walking hand in hand, and appearing in the ſame monſtrous ſhapes—the Anabaptiſts at Munſter—the round-heads, independents, levellers, and many as extravagant, all over Germany, where it was moſt widely diffuſed.

The Roman Catholics, till very lately, beſides theſe inconveniences of excluſion and ſupporting two religions, were ſubject to many other penal laws; or, to ſpeak more properly, many laws were paſſed, during two centuries, to render property inſecure, to prevent the cultivation of land, the interior confidence of families, the extenſion of trade, or the employment of the talents or genius of three-fourths of the people in civil or military affairs. For, let men think themſelves ever ſo free, they are as much ſlaves to the aggregate body of the ſtate, and moſt for it as really, as the ſlaves on a plantation in Jamaica do for their maſter, who cannot hurt one of their little fingers without hurting himſelf. No more can the ſtate put the ſmalleſt impediment in the way of any man's welfare, or take away any motive for

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his exertions, without diminiſhing its own proſperity in the very ſame proportion. But *the Catholics having ſhown great power at the revolution* (or rather, great zeal in their attachment to a king whoſe title was then at leaſt doubtful) *were long ſubject to a ſevere code of laws*. Within theſe few years, *the greater part of theſe laws have been repealed*; but it is true, as we read, *they do not conceive that they enjoy a complete toleration*, while the profeſſion of their religion ſubjects them to privations and humiliations which would be deemed a very ſevere puniſhment for one who had in a high degree incurred the animadverſion of the laws; to be declared unworthy of confidence, excluded from a ſhare in the legiſlature, from places of honour and of truſt.

Though many make light of this ſentence, who are not under it, they ſhould recollect that it is not the thing itſelf only, but the idea alſo which men attach to it, that is grievous to the feeling. Do theſe men think that the Catholic Gentry forfeited, with their property and their rights, the genius and talents which they may derive from nature or from education? Do the attainders of an Iriſh Parliament extend to every ſentiment of generous emulation and honeſt ambition in their minds? Have the ſprings of noble exertion loſt all their elaſticity under the weight of oppreſſion? Deprived of the fair opportunities of indulging them, it would have been merciful indeed to have deprived them of thoſe ſentiments. But they have ſtill ſouls left to envy the feelings of a Howe or a Nelſon, of every man whoſe happineſs it has been to have ſerved his country. When they join in the exultation of the parents, the children, the friends, the common acquaintances, of theſe great men, an involuntary tear will ſometimes ſtart into the eye, a bitter thought intrude itſelf into the breaſt of the poor ſecluded Catholic.

Sometimes he will be ready to exclaim, I or mine might have aſpired to ſome little ſhare in theſe triumphs! How unſatisfactory are the little honours he has been allowed to glean in foreign fields, while he is excluded from the rich harveſts of his country's glory. Theſe feelings reaſon cannot ſubdue, though ſhe may enforce ſubmiſſion and patient reſignation. But ſo deeply implanted in the meaneſt reptile that crawls upon the confines of life is the hatred of oppreſſion, ſo conſcious of it are mankind, ſo very difficult it is to forgive thoſe whom we have wronged, that even in the hour of danger the ſervices of the Catholic appear to be accepted with diffidence, and he has the mortification of hearing continually the moſt illiberal inſinuations and ſuſpicions thrown out againſt the body of men to which he belongs.

Is it conſiſtent with the candour this writer profeſſes, to aſſert, that they *demand an alteration in the parliamentary conſtitution to give their numbers proportionate power?* Thoſe are the men who expoſe regular governments to ſuch alterations; who, by property in oppoſition to numbers, favour the ſyſtem which is ſpreading faſt through Europe. The Catholics of Ireland ſupplicate only that they may be admitted to political equality with the Proteſtants, not in proportion to their numbers, which is not the conſtitutional baſis of repreſentation with us; but in proportion to their property, which is. They ſupplicate the government of Ireland not to ſap the foundation of the Britiſh conſtitution which they preſume they have a right to enjoy, in common with all his majeſty's ſubjects, by depriving property of its rights in the ſtate, not to contribute to the ruin of ſociety, by adding to the weight of numbers againſt property, by breaking the graduated links of the chain which unites theſe two claſſes, and by furniſhing arguments to evil-minded perſons

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to ſeduce the weak. The reigns of Elizabeth, Charles, and James, are long paſt. It is needleſs to revive old quarrels and mutual accuſation; but they intreat that they may not be injured, nor the ſtate expoſed to danger, by weakening the ties of ſociety, becauſe the Proteſtants *fancy* they diſcover ſimilar views in the preſent unhappy conteſt. But that conteſt appears of a nature entirely its own, with not one feature of ſimilarity to the times alluded to. No Catholic power, no Pope, no Pretender, can be alledged to have incited it. Do all you can, it will ever appear more a war upon the ſyſtem of numbers againſt property, of no religion againſt all religion, than of Catholic againſt Proteſtant.

Is it not to be feared that maintaining religious diſtinctions and excluſions will abet that ſyſtem and diſparage the general cauſe of religion and regular government? There can be little danger in allowing them to obtain power in proportion to their property, when nine-tenths of it is not theirs, with a Proteſtant King, and Proteſtant Houſe of Peers, where he only can admit them. To reſtore their parliamentary eſtabliſhment to its fair and natural baſis, is at all times, but now more than ever, the beſt guarrantee of its ſafety and importance. The Catholics ſet up no claim to their eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment; if they have any fears for it, it may eaſily be ſecured to them by a guarantee from England, as has been practiſed in many ſimilar inſtances in Germany.

When the Catholics were reſtrained, by a code of laws, which, though ſo lately abrogated, the world will ſcarce believe ever to have exiſted,—Does the author mean to aſſert, that the Iriſh nation, poor, ſpiritleſs, and contemptible, did not feel its ſufferings, becauſe it had not force to complain? What was the boaſted tranquillity it enjoyed? *Soli-*

tudinem

tudinem faciunt,—pacem appellant. The improvement of the country, as ſoon as thoſe reſtrictions were taken off, was rapid beyond imagination. As the Catholic roſe along with it from abject poverty, is it wonderful that he ſhould petition, that ten or a thouſand acres of land ſhould have the ſame rights in his hands as in his neighbour's?

It is deſirable, ſays the author of the pamphlet, to caſt a veil over recent circumſtances. I join with him; but, if that veil is artfully contrived to admit inſinuations, injurious to a large body of men, painful as it may be, it muſt be removed.

It cannot be hoped, it is ſaid, *that the Proteſtants, under the preſent temper and feelings, will ſurrender their political power, much leſs be perſuaded they can do it with ſafety.* It is acknowledged, through every page of this candid publication, that they cannot keep it with ſafety without the interference of Great Britain; and it is alledged, and all through the work it is inſinuated, that Great Britain is not pledged to ſupport them in it. It is declared to be an unnatural ſyſtem. Many other epithets are directly or indirectly applied to it, through the courſe of the work, which it is needleſs to repeat. This language is very plain; it is eaſy to ſee that, to get rid of a troubleſome queſtion at any rate, is the main object of the Union as it is here propoſed. To what ſhifts are men driven, when fair principle is abandoned; to think to get rid of a difficulty by a change of form, while the grounds of it are not only allowed to remain but confirmed, is deceiving ourſelves, and ſtruggling againſt conviction.

The wiſeſt and faireſt way for the Proteſtants of Ireland to ſecure political power, is to put it on the ſafe and broad baſis of the Britiſh conſtitution; to give up a dangerous, troubleſome monopoly; and truſt to their capital in the ſtate (ten times greater than what can ſet up againſt them) and to the immenſe

menſe advantages in the conſtitutional legiſlature of which they are fairly in poſſeſſion. But the Catholics, they ſay, being ſo much ſuperior in number, will ſoon acquire a dangerous ſuperiority in property. If, without ruining the ſtate, you cannot hinder them from acquiring property, is it not ſafer to let that property, by ſlow degrees, into a fair ſhare of influence, than to let it grow up under a ſyſtem of diſcontent, till it forces itſelf at once into power by its accumulated weight?

One cannot help pitying a government which ſeems to be in conſtant terror of the proſperity of its own ſubjects. Their number, their riches, their ſpirit, their civil or military talents, are ſo many objects of fear. Such a government can ſubſiſt only by taking as much pains to keep its ſubjects poor, weak, ignorant and mean, as other princes take to make theirs wealthy, powerful, enlightened, war-like and high-ſpirited.

In the next ſentence, the ſupporters of theſe claims of the Roman Catholics to political equality, in proportion to their property, are ſet down as open opeſofers or ſecret ill-wiſhers to the government. For my part, I think the moſt treacherous enemy to the government is he who wiſhes to leave it expoſed in theſe times to the operation of ſuch dangerous principles, as excluſion of the majority of a people, and religious diſqualification. This excluſion of the *tiers état* from ſome places of honour and truſt, though nothing like the excluſion of the Roman Catholics in Ireland, was a great cauſe of envy and diſcontent, and gave many ſupporters to the revolution in its firſt ſtages. Next to him, I think, he is an enemy to his country who deſtroys the confidence between man and man, by inſinuating that every perſon, who happens to be obnoxious to his ſpleen or his prejudice, or his favourite ſyſtem, is a traitor, or at leaſt a ſuſpicious and dangerous character. In the name

of

of God, how are we to unite against our enemy, if this principle of mutual diſtruſt for differences of opinion gains ground as it does among us.

How ſincerely do I join in the wiſh, that it were poſſible to bury all that has paſſed in *perfect oblivion*. But when the foundations of ſociety are broken up and torn aſunder, when no other human means can ſave us from the ruin which is nodding over our heads but unanimity, I have another wiſh, ſtill nearer to my heart, it is, that nothing be taken, to ſatisfy party and prejudice, from the ſtrength of the laſt tie that remains—our common intereſt;—that it be truly a common cauſe, equal in its advantages and its dangers, where every heart and every hand may unite without reſerve.

I am now come to that important truth *which modern political writers upon religious eſtabliſhments*, as I am informed, *lay down as a principle*; *That every ſtate ought to eſtabliſh the religious ſect which is moſt numerous*. If the neceſſity or even the bare utility of religion in a ſtate be admitted, this truth forces itſelf upon the mind moſt adverſe to conviction, as imperiouſly as thoſe axioms which no arguments can render clearer. If a religion be not eſtabliſhed for the people of a country, for whom is it eſtabliſhed? But if another modern political principle be adopted, that a ſtate ſhould not have any religious eſtabliſhment, then, as we can ſcarcely deny that religion is a great help to morality, good order, and government, no obſtacle at leaſt ſhould be put in the way of that which, profeſſed and obſtinately adhered to by the majority of a country, without having any eſtabliſhment, has anſwered all the true purpoſes of religion. If a different perſuaſion be preferred by the leading people of the ſtate, I believe the wiſeſt way to bring over the multitude to it, would be to leave it to its own merits, ſupported by the zeal and virtue of its paſtors, without any interference of temporal

poral power. The revenue enjoyed by the church is part of the common ſtock, left to the direction of the ſtate to employ to the beſt advantage of the community; the Iriſh legiſlature is the only competent judge, whether in Ireland it be right or wrong to apply it to the eſtabliſhment of the Proteſtant church. The Roman Catholics cannot have, and do not pretend to, any claim upon it; and I admit, with the author of the pamphlet, that if the government, out of its wiſdom or generoſity, offers a portion of it as a ſtipend to their paſtors, as there exiſts neither right nor obligation on either ſide, conditions may be attached to what is freely given. But theſe paſtors remain free to follow the dictates of their conſcience, and of their prudence, in accepting or refuſing this proviſion.

It is aſſerted, that, by the repeal of the teſt-oaths, the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment *would become a public wrong.* As we are arguing upon things, not words, I cannot conceive how the repeal of oaths, if it is not one before, made to exclude three-fourths of the people from the legiſlature, can make it one. Among theſe oaths, I ſuppoſe is included that of abjuration, which is as violent an inſult to the religion of our allies, the firſt nations on the continent of Europe, as the abominable oath of hatred to royalty, ſet up as a teſt in France, is to their form of government.

The next is a very old objection, which I never could underſtand how any well-informed man could make twice.

The moſt numerous religious ſect does not acknowledge the ſupremacy of the ſtate, but profeſſes to be ſubject to a foreign juriſdiction—Their religion could not be eſtabliſhed, without deſtroying the conſtitution, which is founded on the principles of civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty and the excluſion of foreign interference and juriſdiction.

This may be an objection to their having a religious eſtabliſhment, but is no argument againſt their being admitted to a ſhare in the legiſlature, where a Proteſtant King, a Proteſtant Houſe of Peers, nine-tenths of the property of the country, which is the baſis of repreſentation, are in Proteſtant hands; and, if neceſſary, a guarantee by England is a ſufficient ſecurity againſt any attempt they might make in that way, though I do not believe that even with an eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhment any foreign juriſdiction could pretend to interfere.

But the ſupremacy of the State, of the Lords, Commons, and King, their ſole right to manage the concerns, eſtabliſhment, faith, and diſcipline, of the church of England, with all the authority which their Biſhops may poſſeſs over the members of that church, was, I believe, never denied by any Catholic in any part of the world. They certainly do not admit the King of England to be the ſpiritual head of the Roman Catholic church. Nor do the Preſbyterians admit him to be the head of theirs. But this was not a reaſon for excluding the Scotch from a ſhare in the legiſlature of the country they were united to. Why, then, ſhould it exclude the Iriſh?

As to the foreign juriſdiction, to which it is ſaid the Roman Catholics are ſubject (which has been the conſtant anſwer to all their claims, and is now the only plauſible one) it is neceſſary, before we enter upon it, to explain what a juriſdiction is: this requires ſome attention, and is deſerving of it. It is the plea of men living under the ſame ſovereign, and the ſame laws, ſupporting them with their fortunes, and ready to ſupport them with their lives, aſking for nothing from their fellow-ſubjects but an equal ſhare in the benefits, as in the burdens, of the ſtate.

The definition of juriſdiction is, *poteſtas dicendi jus*; for which I cannot find a better tranſlation than the power of *pronouncing law*, or rather of *pronouncing ſentence*;

ſentence; which neceſſarily implies a tribunal, with the means of enforcing it. Now in no country in the world, Roman Catholic or otherwiſe, can any tribunal exiſt, deriving from the Roman Catholic religion, or any ſentence be enforced affecting a man in any way whatſover, in his liberty, life, property, or any part of his civil or natural exiſtence, without the permiſſion of the ſovereign of that country. Such is the doctrine of Spain, Portugal, and all the Roman Catholic countries in the world, who all, as well as England, diſclaim the interference of a foreign juriſdiction, and puniſh thoſe who pretend to maintain it in oppoſition to the laws of the ſovereign. Magna Charta, the foundation of civil liberty, as well as the Statutes of Præmunire which ſecured eccleſiaſtical liberty, were acts of Roman Catholic Parliaments.

If an eccleſiaſtical court, or foreign juriſdiction, exiſt, it can only be by the conſent of the prince; to that conſent, and not to the Roman Catholic religion, of which it is no inherent part, are the inconveniences of it to be aſcribed. This is the deciſion of the ableſt lawyers and divines all over the world. It is that of *Cujas*, the oracle of the law in Europe in the ſixteenth century. His anſwer to all religious diſputes was, *Nil hoc ad edictum pretoris* — They have nothing to do with the law of the land. *Fleury*, the great hiſtorian of the church, is of the ſame opinion; he declares orthodox, and perfectly conformable to the true doctrine, the deciſion pronounced in the empire, *That the Pope, nor the whole church together, cannot inflict any coercive puniſhment on any man, whatſoever his crimes may be, unleſs the emperor gives him power to do it.*

The ſpiritual authority which the church poſſeſſes has no ſanction, no coercive power, in this life; its object does not come under the ſenſes, is not in this world, and can in no way come in contact with civil exiſtence.

I cannot ſee, in this, any right the Pope can be ſaid to have to *a real and eſſential juriſdiction* in Ireland, Philoſophy enters as much into the common concerns of life as divinity. It would be a ſtrange objection to the ſyſtem of Ariſtotle or Copernicus, that it was a foreign interference.

It remains with the legiſlature of Ireland to give or to withhold a church eſtabliſhment to the Roman Catholics. But, exiſting as they do without one, and without pretending to any right to one, I do not ſee why admitting them into the legiſlature would be deſtroying *a conſtitution founded on the principles of civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty, and the excluſion of foreign interference and juriſdiction.*

I admit, that to put the Roman Catholics in poſſeſſion of the church eſtabliſhment of Ireland, with its wealth, influence, and juriſdiction, to allow their Biſhops to ſit in Parliament (which no power on earth but King, Lords, and Commons, can do) would be inconvenient and dangerous to all ſides. But I never can admit, that there is any thing in the Roman Catholic religion hoſtile to the principles of civil and eccleſiaſtical liberty, or to the excluſion of foreign interference.

The nomination of a biſhop unacknowledged by the ſtate, whether by the Pope, his cardinals, or any body elſe, without revenue, without a tribunal, without a particle of power, or the means of enforcing any act, cannot be fairly called a dangerous *interference of real and eſſential juriſdiction.* The Pope and all the Roman Catholic church have not in the Iriſh ſtate, nor pretend to have the power of the meaneſt veſtry.

Would it not be juſt, then, to hear the Roman Catholics of Ireland, by their counſel, at the bar of the Iriſh and Engliſh Parliament, before the ſubjection of ſo large a body of men to ſo ſevere a ſentence is formally confirmed, and before the Engliſh Parliament

Parliament calmly (with no circumſtances of palliation) in the eyes of the whole world, make the Engliſh nation a partner in ſuch an act? If what I ſay be true, if they are ready to take every oath of allegiance which their fellow-ſubjects take, they ſubmit to the juſtice of their legiſlators and the feeling of the Engliſh people, whether it be not hard that ſo large a portion of the ſtate ſhould be deprived of their rights in a way which could not happen to the meaneſt trading company or corporation?

May I here, without running into obſolete religious diſpute, ſay a few words upon a part of hiſtory which has been much confounded and miſunderſtood. The power which Popes have been accuſed of arrogating over the princes of Europe, has been loudly complained of; but that power was entirely foreign to their ſpiritual authority, and to the Roman Catholic religion, which has been moſt unjuſtly involved in all the hatred which their conduct has ſo naturally created. If a king of England *could do wrong*, it would be as unfair to lay that wrong upon the church of England, becauſe he is the head of it.

In the times of feodality, the duty to the feudal lord was a ſacred tie. There was a ſort of magnanimity, very congenial to the ſpirit of chivalry, in paying it with all its circumſtances of humiliation, where it might have been refuſed without danger. It was in thoſe days the triumph of right over force. The Kings of England did homage on their knees, with all its humbling ceremonies, to the Kings of France, for Guienne, &c. Many ſtates, and England among the reſt, with more zeal perhaps than wiſdom, acknowledged the feudal ſuzerainty of the Biſhop of Rome. The King of Naples does homage for his crown, by ſending a white palfrey to the Pope. But all this has nothing to do with religion, though in times too paſſionate to diſcriminate, it drew upon it a great ſhare of obloquy.

The

The next argument is full of ingenuity, and deſerves particular attention, becauſe I have obſerved that it has had ſome weight at firſt ſight. We are told gravely, that, by the Union, *Ireland would be in a natural ſituation; for all the Proteſtants of the empire being united, ſhe would have the proportion of* **fourteen to three, in favour of her eſtabliſhment; whereas, at preſent, there is a proportion of three to one againſt it.*

To anſwer this in its own way. In the firſt place, admitting that the government is in an *unnatural ſituation*, becauſe it is in a minority of the people, *a fortiori*, muſt that act, by which it gives away the rights of the majority, be an unnatural one, and in logic invalid—*ab initio*. To ſell the eſtate is a ſtrange way of mending a bad title. But even ſuppoſing, for argument ſake, that, the legiſlature which commits this act has not (as this writer aſſerts it has) this natural flaw. Suppoſing it, for a moment, in *a natural ſituation, not diſagreeing with its theory*. What a principle to admit, that the majority can deprive the minority at once of its political liberty. If ſo, one majority, is all a wicked miniſter need look for, to be legally and *naturally* for ever maſter of the country. He may ſhut the door of the parliament houſe at once againſt a troubleſome minority and their conſtituents.—To vote all the Catholics of Ireland and England a minority, then to deprive, of their political rights, this immenſe body of men, almoſt a nation, when the numbers of the Catholics of Ireland are united to the rank and wealth of thoſe of England, is an application of the principle, upon ſuch a ſcale, as will take in, when neceſſary, any ſet of men—Weſt Indians—Eaſt

* This ſuppoſes 17 millions of inhabitants in Great Britain and Ireland, excluſive of Preſbyterians and all other Sects, not Catholics, or of the Church of England.

Indians

Indians—Scotchmen—Welſhmen, or one half *leſs one*, of all England. Is it an idle fear, that what is done may poſſibly be done again? Is there no danger in ſanctioning this principle? Men will not be tricked in this manner out of their feelings, eſpecially Iriſhmen, whoſe hearts are ſaid to be more ſuſceptible than their heads. Not one of them will believe you when you tell him, upon the word and honour of an Engliſhman, that he went to bed in a great majority, but that, without having even dreamed of it, he awoke in a minority of fourteen to three, without having one ſingle word to ſay againſt this *natural* privation of his rights for ever.

But are bounds to be ſet to the omnipotence of parliament? yes, the bounds which the Almighty has ſet to his own infinite power—Juſtice.

How tortuous is the application of this argument to the Preſbyterian. In the ſame breath he is told *his importance and power is to riſe* by joining the diſſenting intereſt of England; while, by the ſame operation, the Roman Catholic is to loſe all his for ever.

It is difficult, we are told, *to comprehend the wiſdom of their junction with the Roman Catholics.* It is indeed difficult to comprehend the wiſdom of that ſyſtem which drove Proteſtant, Preſbyterian, and Catholic, into a deſperate Union againſt it.

What a paltry bribe is held out to them in the probable modus for tithes? What an ill-placed indecent inſinuation, that their predeliction for their church diſcipline is obſolete! That, though ſome people *conceive* the contrary, they will rather fall in with the epiſcopal church of England than with *the excellent diſcipline* of their brethren of Scotland. That it is nothing but early prejudice and cuſtom which makes them prefer the ſimple exhortation of their elder, in their humble meeting-houſe, to the *pride, pomp, and circumſtance of worſhip* in the cathedral of Derry.

To

To comfort this numerous claſs of the inhabitants of Ireland, under the hardſhips they are doomed to bear, (it would be inſulting the Britiſh conſtitution to ſay, that it is no hardſhip to be excluded from it,) they are told, that *they would do well to reſt ſatisfied with a much greater degree of toleration than the Proteſtants have ever enjoyed under a Catholic ſtate.*

There is more of paſſion in this argument than of juſtice or of generoſity, and leſs of ſound reaſoning than of either. Admitting the poſition; what an inference! We muſt regulate our conduct by the miſconduct of others. Proving the aſſertion to be falſe, as I ſhall do, it will appear founded in prejudice, and ſupported by not the beſt information. If a prejudice of this ſort affected the unhappy objects of it alone, it would only be ungenerous; but, affecting the ſtrength and happineſs of the ſtate, to maintain and enforce it by ungrounded inſinuations is at leaſt unwiſe. It is a dangerous aſſertion, tending to deprive us of the example of other great and wiſe ſtates in a ſimilar predicament, and to ſhut our eyes to the good effects of the regulations they have ſo long ago adopted.

No precedent of religious diſqualification can be found to apply fairly to Ireland, a Catholic country, with a Proteſtant ſtate. In no country that I know of, where the Proteſtants are even one-third of the inhabitants, are they ſubjected to any ſort of diſqualification. In catholic countries, where they are not one-tenth part of the population, they enjoy the ſame rights and the ſame ſhare in the government as the Catholics. In Spain, Portugal, and Italy, there is ſcarcely a perceptible number of Proteſtant ſubjects. At the time of the revocation of the Edict of Nantz they were a very ſmall proportion of the population of France. If I mention this event, it is with every mark of diſapprobation. It is one of the proofs, that

that no nation can ever indulge its feelings in religious perſecution without ſuffering from its effects. The Proteſtants in thoſe parts of France where they were in any proportion to the Catholics, were exactly in the ſame ſituation as they. Such was the caſe of Alſatia, ceded to France by the treaty of Munſter; the rights of the Proteſtants in that province were reſpected. An order of military merit was inſtituted for ſuch as ſcrupled to accept that of St. Lewis. Mr. Neckar, who was prime miniſter; Mareſchal Saxe, many years commander in chief of the armies of France; Mareſchal Lovendal; Mareſchal Luckner; General Wurmſer, and innumerable other Proteſtants were high in civil and military rank in France. The chapter of St. Thomas, in the city of Straſbourg, where the Mareſchal de Saxe is buried, belongs to the Proteſtants. It is well worth our while to conſider in what manner Germany calmed the ſpirit of the religious diſſention, that dreadful ſcourge of nations, which, at intervals during more than a century, and for thirty years together, without interruption, deluged that immenſe country with the blood of its inhabitants. After that long period of hatred and mutual diſtruſt, of war and devaſtation, to which the rival pretenſions of Catholic and Proteſtant had given riſe, but in which as it never fails to happen, no human paſſion was without its ſhare, there was an interval of reaſon. The claims of the two parties were calmly taken into conſideration; and the facility with which they were definitively ſettled by negociation, proved the folly of their bloody and ineffectual conteſts. The emoluments of the church (that continual motive of contention) were divided to the ſatisfaction of both parties. The bonds of civil power were traced out without partiality, where particular circumſtances rendered it neceſſary, but oftener left open indiſcriminately to both. Every incitement to

religious animoſity was carefully removed; and ſo little of it remained, that ſome eccleſiaſtical eſtabliſhments were poſſeſſed alternately by Proteſtants and Catholics, and the ſame church ſerves frequently for their worſhip. The Catholic Biſhopric of Oſnabourg is one, and I have never heard that his Royal Highneſs the Duke of York has any miſtruſt or fear of his Roman Catholic flock. A Catholic power, under the adminiſtration of a Cardinal, was moſt inſtrumental in procuring theſe ſettlements for the Proteſtants of Germany.

I am almoſt afraid of being accuſed of impoliteneſs, by adducing notorious facts, which may look like to groſs and blunt contradictions of the aſſertions of a gentleman who ought to have ſuch good information upon the ſubject he treats, as the author of this publication. But one or two facts more I muſt beg leave to mention.

There exiſts, in the middle of Europe, a ſtate too conſiderable to have eſcaped the notice of a profeſſional ſtateſman, which is the very reverſe of Ireland, a Roman Catholic government in a Proteſtant country, but there to make the contraſt complete, Proteſtant and Catholic enjoy every privilege, without diſtinction. The ſmall but adequate revenue of the church, is given to thoſe who do the ſervice of it, in either way. I never heard there of religious jealouſy or animoſity. The peaſantry are, without any exception, the happieſt, moſt comfortable, and moſt contented, in the world. The higher ranks remarkable for their martial and honourable ſpirit; their conſequence is not in oppoſition to their conſciences; their minds are not contracted by prejudice, nor demeaned by mutual diſtruſt. The ſovereign is the father of all his ſubjects.

But a ſtronger and more extraordinary fact remains, to confound the friends and abettors of religious jealouſy and animoſity. The Proteſtants of Germany,

Germany, certainly not indifferent to the intereſts of their religion, could not find a properer perſon to entruſt them to than this very Roman Catholic Prince, the Elector of Saxony, who is ſelected by themſelves to be the chief of the Proteſtant Union, and to watch over the execution of the treaties made in their favour.

So intermingled and united are the two religions in many parts of Germany, that it is hard to ſay to which they belong. The religion of the Soverign of the Palatinate, has been ſometimes one, ſometimes the other, without occaſioning the ſligheſt diſturbance.

In the capital of the Palatinate of the Rhine, Heidelberg, the Prince's council is compoſed of the three free religons, Catholics, Lutherans, and Calviniſts. The principal church, which was for ſome time an object of contention, is now divided between the Lutherans and Catholics, by erecting a ſlight partition wall acroſs the building. The Catholics have the choir, the Lutherans the nave. The tithes of the Palatinate are veſted in the ſovereign, of whatever religion, and farmed or collected by the council. The clergy are paid from the fund, according to the duties they perform in wood, corn, &c. as well as money.

In 1656, the Catholics and Proteſtants of Switzerland came to a ſimilar agreement; and the pains which theſe upright and ſimple republicans took to reſtore concord, *pax æterna et fraterna amicitia*, are very worthy of notice.

* *Ac propterea omnibus acerbis explorationibus forte exprobationibus, convitiis mordacibus religionis negotium cum primis concernentibus quibus hactenus odia aborta*

* It is enacted, that all Perſons, whatever their Rank be, abſtain, under the ſevereſt penalties, from all religious bickerings and invectives.

ſunt, omnibus cujuſcunque ſtatus et conditionis ſint ſevere interdictum ſit†.

All reaſoning upon the Peerage muſt be ſuſpended, until it be known in what manner it is to be diſpoſed of. I acknowledge in the mean time, that I am not convinced by the arguments, or rather the aſſertion of the Pamphlet, that the eſtates of the ſpiritual or temporal Peers will be permanently ſecured by an arrangement which leaves every cauſe of diſcontent, to which their inſecurity has been conſtantly aſcribed.

The gentlemen of the bar have already expreſſed their ſentiments ſo ably, that it would be preſumption in me to open my lips upon what concerns them.

Thoſe of landed property, whoſe exiſtence is in the very ſoil of Ireland, are the perſons moſt deeply intereſted in this meaſure: to them, principally, are all my arguments addreſſed. Twenty years purchaſe is a good price for the moſt improveable farms in Ireland, a country with every advantage of ſoil and ſituation; while thirty or forty are paid for eſtates at their full value in England, and ſtill more in many parts of the Continent. So deep is the curſe of internal diſſention, that the lands of Flanders (the conſtant ſeat of war) are ſold generally three times higher than thoſe of Ireland, which naturally ought to be for ever exempted from its calamities. The inſecure, uncomfortable, poſſeſſion of eſtates, at this degraded value, is the price we have ſo long conſented to pay for a miſerable ſuperiority over a wretched population, and the barren indulgence of a prejudice, diſcarded for near two centuries from the civilized parts of Europe.

† The few public monuments that adorn our Country, are not erected in the mild, charitable, and politic ſpirit of this treaty. Nor is the inſcription over the town of Bandon, nor the very elegant one under a Buſt of King William (near to the College in Dublin) very honourable teſtimonies of our taſte in that ſort of literature.

To

To this diſgraceful, troubleſome, unnatural, pre-eminence, in oppoſition to every principle, we are now going to ſacrifice the independence of our country. But if it be in the nature of the effect to remain as long as the cauſe exiſts, we ſhall find ourſelves terribly deceived in our calculations of ſecurity and improvement. What influx of property can we expect from England or elſewhere, while we harbour in our country the enemy of all property and of every ſocial eſtabliſhment.

The metropolis and its adjacent countries muſt, I think, ſuffer very conſiderably. The magnificent ruins, the melancholy remains of paſt grandeur in thoſe towns on the Continent, which had once their own little independent ſovereignties, Mantua, Verona, Bologna, are ſad examples of United States. There is a manlineſs in political wiſdom which will conſent to great ſacrifices for great ends. But that Dublin, perhaps the third city of Europe, whoſe progreſs in wealth and elegance for the laſt twenty years, mocks the compariſon of Edinburgh ſince the Union, that Dublin ſhould exiſt only to be the aſſylum of wretched fugitives, driven from their country manſions by civil diſſention! Why will it not be ſo? What cauſe of internal diſturbance will this Union remove, which is to exclude three fourths of the people of Ireland?

Let us be no longer blind to our own intereſts. We know the cauſe of our misfortunes. It is religious prejudice. If we are to make a bargain with England, which perhaps it may be wiſe to do, let it be a fair one. Why ſhould ſhe hold out to us, among her terms, as a *douceur*, a fallacious offer of ſecurity for our lives and properties againſt each other, when, without our help, we can procure it effectually for ourſelves. Let us make our bargain as fair men, and no doubt outbid each other in the price we are to pay in common. *If ſome ſacrifices muſt be made*, as it is admitted, *of power, emolument, and*

and importance, it becomes the duty of thoſe who have the generoſity to make thoſe ſacrifices, to take care that they be not made in vain.

I have now paſſed in review the leadiag arguments which have been broaght forward in the pamphlet in favour of an Union: If I have dwelt more upon the Roman Catholic queſtion than upon any other, I did it becauſe the excluſion of the Roman Catholics is the only one of the terms of it about which we are not left in doubt, and ſo far the only one fairly before us. What remains to be noticed will require but a few words, which might perhaps have been better placed in the preceding pages. I have already ſaid, but not ſo fully as it now ſtrikes me, that Toleration and excluſion ſeem to me incompatible. Excluſion is a diſgraceful puniſhment in our government. Men are excluded and declared unworthy to ſit in parliament for diſhonourable practices, immorality, &c. Lately, when the caſe of what was termed a libel upon the conſtitution was before the Houſe of Commons in England, when that mode of puniſhment was propoſed, I have heard that it was reprobated as too ſevere.

I cannot help here remarking alſo, another inſtance of the contradiction and weakneſs which are ever inſeparable from the moſt ſubtle arguments when oppoſed to truth and principle.—I am told that an opening may be left for the future admiſſion of Catholics to additional privileges; but I cannot forget that, I am told, *that Proteſtant property has nathing to fear, becauſe the hope of change being at an end, diſaffection would ſink into acquieſcence, and acquieſcence into content.*

There is alſo as ſtrange an aſſertion to an Engliſh ear; *that government was likely to be adminiſtered with more attention, becauſe it will be leſs diſturbed by party and parliament.*

It

It does not at all appear, that *the frame of the House of Commons must of neceſſity be reformed on account of the admiſſion of the Roman Catholics to political equality.* Although many boroughs were created with the *ſole view* of outweighing the political power which the property of the Catholics, previous to the rebellion of 1641, might have given them in the ſtate, yet under the repeal of religious diſqualification, it is obvious that they might ſit in parliament for thoſe very boroughs; or if the perſon at whoſe diſpoſal they are choſes to keep them out of them, it will be but an additional ſecurity to Proteſtant preponderance, of which they will have no right to complain; therefore the repeal does not neceſſarily involve any queſtion of reform.

The reproduction of confidence, friendſhip, and ſocial intercourſe, by taking away the grounds of political jealouſy and contention,—inſtead of making a fair diviſion of the advantages which were objects of them, is very like the mode in which the lawyer in the fable ſettled the diſpute of the travellers about the oyſter.

The Improvement of the South and Weſt of Ireland by an Union muſt remain doubtful, until the commercial regulations are known. I do not ſee why an Union ſhould be deemed a neceſſary preliminary to any ſuch arrangements. If they are advantageous to Ireland, without being diſadvantageous to England, why not adopt them before an union? If they are diſadvantageous to England, why adopt them after one?

I will here venture to ſay what, I think, would contribute much to make Ireland the moſt happy and flouriſhing country in the world:—A total repeal and oblivion, if poſſible, of all religious diſtinctions, preſuppoſing the moſt ample ſecurity for the Proteſtant church eſtabliſhment and property; and a diſtribution of ſome of the inferior places of profit among

among the middling claſſes of the Roman Catholics.

A modus for tithes, the eaſieſt poſſible one for the peaſantry. This tax, and the ſeverity with which it is collected, is one of the greateſt grievances the people labour under. The ſupport to be afforded by government to the Roman Catholic clergy may have excellent effects, if it does not occaſion ſuch an interference of the ſtate as may leſſen the confidence of the people in their prieſts; which it is extremely neceſſary to maintain, unleſs another religion can be ſubſtituted to that which they teach. A decent houſe and chapel, with a few acres of glebe, would be the propereſt proviſion, would improve the face of the country, and tend to civilize it.

A vigilant and ſtrong police, as little arbitrary as poſſible, conducted by temperate and impartial magiſtrates, and reſponſible under-agents, in every barony, or even, if found neceſſary, in every pariſh.

A moſt ſevere, impartial, and dignified adminiſtration of juſtice to every rank of life. I have been told that it has ſometimes happened in Ireland, that very heinous criminals have found means, by what defect in the laws I know not, to eſcape the puniſhment due to their crimes. I ſpeak of times precedent to the late diſaſtrous events. Such open evaſions of juſtice cannot take place in England; were it even poſſible, there, the ſeverity of public opinion would amply ſupply the inefficacy of law. In Ireland, it were to be wiſhed that opinion were as inexorable in ſuch caſes as it is in ſome others, or at leaſt that ſuch offenders ſhould not be allowed to go at large, they deſtroy all confidence, all reſpect for government, and inure the mind to guilt, by the habit of ſeeing criminals unnoticed by law. The higher the rank the more dangerous the example. Perhaps too the ſpirit of volunteering the executive

and

and even the mechanical parts of juſtice, is a ſpecies of zeal better repreſſed than encouragad in men of rank. There are neceſſary ſervices which ſhould be paid for very highly in money, in extraordinary caſes, but it is moſt eſſential to the community, that the rank and character of a gentleman ſhould be held up to the lower ranks in all its luſtre, unſullied by any act which, though uſeful, public opinion has ſtamped as mean.

A greater degree of dignity, ſolemnity, and etiquette, in the courts of juſtice, and better halls to aſſemble in, would tend to civilization.

The complaints of middle-men, rack-rents, and poverty of farmers, are not, I think, within the reach of law or public regulation; as capital increaſes in the country, and more of it comes into the market of land, theſe inconveniences will inſenſibly diſappear.

They were complained of (if I have been well informed) in the ſame manner in the reign of Queen Mary in England. Perhaps the ſudden extenſion of commerce by drawing of capital from agriculture may be one cauſe of them, until its profits are again returned to the ſoil.

The partiality of Colbert for trade during the reign of Lewis XIV. is ſaid to have injured cultivation. Great profits upon ſmall capitals, as is the caſe in the infancy of trade, may have ſuch an effect; but ſmall profits upon great capitals, as happens in its maturity, will have a quite contrary one. If the commerce of France had reached the comparative pitch of that of England, no complaint of that kind would have been heard.

The queſtion of parliamentary reform is quite foreign to the object I have had in view; though it has often been found joined with it, it has no neceſſary connexion with that of the political rights of Catholics. I believe nothing but deſpair of obtain-

ing them in any other way ever connected them in any man's mind. I ſhall not here preſume to ſay one word about it, I ſhall only obſerve that no regulation or form of government will give ſecurity to a country, if there be not upright and vigilant legiſlators and magiſtrates to watch over them.

My buſineſs as an Iriſh Roman Catholic has been with the greateſt reſpect for the government of my country, and the ſincereſt wiſh for its welfare, to meet the arguments affecting that body of men, which with no ſmall degree of ingenuity have been uſed by Mr. C. and to ſhew that in the arrangements he has ſuggeſted as terms of union, thoſe which relate to the Roman Catholics of Ireland are unfounded in found policy.

Through every page of the arguments I have attempted to anſwer, it muſt be obvious to the moſt ſuperficial reader that, the eſſential vice of Ireland, the cauſe of all her misfortunes, is not ſo immediately in the nature of her connections with England as in her unhappy diviſions of religion. The moſt ſhallow reaſoner muſt be convinced, that a meaſure which does not remove that cauſe will not eſſentially better her ſituation. The Union, as it is there propoſed, not only leaves this vice in its full vigour, but confirms it by the ſanction of the Britiſh Parliament. Whatever other ends therefore it may anſwer, it will not give ſecurity and peace to Ireland. It has in this view of it nothing beneficial but what may exiſt without it, and has certainly many inconveniencies for both countries. If I have proved to the ſatisfaction of any reaſonable mind, that theſe religious diſtinctions may be aboliſhed, and the Proteſtant eſtabliſhment and preponderance in the ſtate ſecured, I have obtained every end I propoſed to myſelf. I feel a confidence that the leading men of Ireland will not, for the ſake of prejudices which take away all reſpect for their country in the eyes of the

the world, and render their lives uncomfortable, their property insecure, which engross their minds and their feelings in mean objects viewed with contempt for more than a century by the rest of Europe, that they will not for the satisfaction of such little passions leave the British Empire exposed to the dangers such an internal source of disunion must create.

A proper discussion of the different objects which naturally present themselves in considering these arguments, would fill many volumes, and embrace the whole system of politics. The question of parliamentary reform, the vast resources which may be drawn from Ireland, her wealth and population, the wants of her poor, the influence of popular opinion, above all, the awful crisis in which the world now stands, must have occupied the thoughts of every reflecting mind.

But these are subjects dangerous to enter upon, they are like the Arc of God, whose judgment did not spare the profane who touched it, even though his hand was lifted to save it when it tottered.

FINIS.